Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-191 *2 October 1991*

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Arms Control & Disarmament

USSR To Begin 'Standing Down' ICBM's

LD0110145491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—The Soviet Union has decided to begin the process of standing down [snyatiye s boyevogo dezhurstva] intercontinental ballistic missiles which fall under the USSR-U.S. treaty on cutting strategic offensive weapons. This was reported at a briefing in Moscow today by Andrey Grachev, the USSR president's aide and head of press service. He commented on reaction in the USSR to the initiative made by U.S. President George Bush the other day for radical cuts in nuclear weapons.

Andrey Grachev noted that the USSR attached exceptionally great significance to the U.S. side's initiative, assessed it positively, and viewed it as an important chance for a breakthrough in the field of nuclear disarmament. In the Soviet Union's assessment, the press secretary stressed, what is at issue is not only a reduction in the U.S. nuclear potential and, probably, an ensuing reduction in the atomic potential of the USSR and other nuclear powers, but also the introduction of new elements of constancy, stability, and security into world politics.

Andrey Grachev said that the U.S. side, expecting a more concrete reaction from the USSR to George Bush's initiative, could count on a specific reply. The reply, in his words, would be comparable in scale with the U.S. initiative and would include a number of substantial counterproposals.

The head of the USSR president's press service reported in this regard that Mikhail Gorbachev had issued an instruction to state organs and structures in the USSR to elaborate within a week a series of actions in response and counterproposals. On the part of the USSR, this could mean, in particular, a coordinated counter program of measures in the field of nuclear disarmament. For this purpose, the USSR president had appointed a specific group of persons for contact with the U.S. Administration, which will begin work as early as today.

Deputy Defense Minister Says Troops To Be Cut 50%

OW0110155091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO at 1530 GMT]

[Text] The number of Soviet troops will be reduced to 2 or 2.5 million by 1994, against the current number: 4 million people. This was announced on Tuesday at a joint session held by Russia's parliamentary committees on security and social protection for servicemen. Colonel-General Pavel Grachev, USSR first deputy defence minister, said that in the efforts to carry out military reform top priority should be given to the need to create joint armed forces with a unified command and unified nuclear potential. In this connection he qualified the plans to create their own armed forces nurtured by some republics, first of all by the Ukraine, as dangerous.

Soviet armed forces, Grachev said, are adopting a mixed method of recruitment. As of January 1, 1992, volunteers will be able to sign contracts for 2 to 3 years. Beginning with this autumn's draft the term of army service will be 18 months. 215,000 volunteers are expected to serve in the Soviet armed forces by the end of 1992. By 1995, when the number of volunteers reaches 45 to 50 of the total number of troops, the draftees will have their term of service reduced to 12 months.

Participants in debates on forming Russia's National Guard said it would be expedient to form it on the basis of interior ministry troops. Subordinate directly to Russia's President, it will evidently be called Federal Guard in accordance with Russia's draft constitution.

Gorbachev Suggests 'Broadening' Bush Initiative

OW0110182091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO at 1745 GMT]

[Text] "Without a doubt, the USSR supports President George Bush's initiative," Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stated on the 30th of September at a meeting with journalists after talks with the Chancellor of Austria Franz Vranitzky. He also suggested that there be no rush to decide upon an answer. "In such questions, rushing on the side of the Soviets and their president could lead to poorly thought out steps in the area of disarmament," President Gorbachev remarked.

"President Bush and I have agreed to start contact on this topic between the foreign ministries and other departments which are included in deciding these complicated issues," the Soviet leader said. In his opinion, it is necessary to clarify all nuances of the American unilateral initiative, aimed at a radical reduction in atomic weapons. "I do not think," continued President Gorbachev, "that studying all of these problems could bother the United States in a unilateral way, since this is their unilateral initiative to move towards its realization."

President Gorbachev also stated that the USSR has already suggested broadening President Bush's initiative. This would mean giving the concept of security a more complete aspect not only by a reduction of atomic weapons, but also by ending testing of atomic weaponry. "This would be a very timely step," President Gorbachev emphasized. In the Soviet president's opinion,

there would be no reason to continue with testing during a period of withdrawal from atomic weapons.

Shaposhnikov: Bush Plan 'Major Enterprising Step'

PM0110110191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 p 5

[Report by YOMIURI bureau chief K. Hamazaki, YOMIURI correspondent T. Asami, and M. Morozov: "Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov: "We Shall Check Parities on Land and at Sea"]

[Text] [Question] How do you assess G. Bush's 27 September initiative in the field of disarmament?

[Shaposhnikov] As a whole these are very major enterprising steps by the U.S. President. We are pleased that the United States no longer considers the Soviet Union its adversary, its "number one enemy," and so forth. We are pleased together with the United States to note that the question of a substantial reduction or elimination of nuclear weapons has also long since become ripe. Because we believe that if we renounce tactical nuclear weapons, that will make it possible also to restrict the use of strategic nuclear weapons. At the same time, according to my preliminary estimation, there are also some complications in the very nature of strategic nuclear forces. Because in our country their development is uneven [neadekvatno].

Both they and we have a triad—the land-based part of the strategic nuclear forces, the naval component, and the air component. Both theirs and ours are uneven [neadekvatny]. We have more of these forces on the ground, they have more at sea. Probably it will be necessary to create some group of experts on both sides to investigate the matter in detail. Although as a whole this is a positive proposal.

The proposal on reducing programs for improving strategic nuclear weapons also seems to us to be of interest. At the same time it seems to us that there is no point in examining it in isolation from the further reduction and in the future the possible renunciation of nuclear weapons tests. The reduction of programs leads us to the reduction of tests. And if we have one program each left then perhaps in the future it will be possible to renounce tests completely.

[Question] How do you see the future of the USSR Armed Forces? What is your attitude toward the principle of the building of the NATO armed forces?

[Shaposhnikov] Let's not rush ahead and draw analogies with NATO. Especially as NATO will probably also change on the quiet.

[Question] In your opinion what is a sensible numerical strength for the Armed Forces of the new Union?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, it is very difficult to speak of a specific figure. As I understand it for the transitional period or for the foreseeable future there is a numerical strength of about 3 million. After that it will depend on how the Vienna talks proceed, how President Bush's proposals are implemented, in general time will tell. I do not see any obstacles to the numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces being even smaller. We must bear in mind future changes in the structure of the Armed Forces and the reduction of management structures.

Bush Proposal 'Needs Further Consideration'

PM0210093791 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Oct 91 p 3

["Test for Nuclear Arsenals" feature citing comments by Lieutenant General Fedor Ladygin, chief of the USSR Armed Forces Treaty and Law Directorate, in Moscow; and Admiral Gene La Rocque, director of the Washington Defense Information Center, in Washington; dates not given; first paragraph is general introduction]

[Excerpt] Everything associated with nuclear weapons cannot fail to worry everyone. And when U.S. President G. Bush submitted fresh initiatives late last week, proposing to cut one thing and even destroy another, this immediately aroused the keenest interest worldwide. And preliminary analysis of his ideas began almost immediately. The following voice their opinion on this: Lieutenant General Fedor Ladygin, chief of the USSR Armed Forces Treaty and Law Directorate, at the request of the newspaper's correspondents Ye. Alekseyev and V. Badurkin in Moscow; and Admiral Gene La Rocque, director of the well-known Washington Defense Information Center, at the request of TRUD's correspondent in Washington V. Sisnev.

The View From Moscow

The nuclear arms initiative submitted by U.S. President G. Bush is indisputably important and merits most serious attention. Many of the ideas in it seem topical to us if you remember that the Soviet Union back in 1986 set out its program for the general and complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. In this respect any steps designed to further this goal by consistently reducing the nuclear arsenals meet with understanding on our part.

It is well known that two classes of missiles—intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles—have already been eliminated on the basis of the agreement concluded between our country and the United States. The USSR and the United States have signed—but, admittedly, not yet ratified—the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction and Limitation. These constitute major steps toward reducing the nuclear potential of the two main nuclear powers.

With a view to ridding Europe of tactical nuclear weapons we have frequently suggested, at the Paris summit in November 1990 among other places, starting appropriate talks. Regrettably, the NATO countries have dragged their feet in considering this question. That is why President G. Bush's present initiative is going in precisely the direction that the Soviet Union advocated

and is advocating. As for tactical nuclear weapons in Europe specifically, our proposals were even more radical at one time—they envisaged ridding Europe of any tactical nuclear weapons.

President Bush's proposal to remove tactical nuclear weapons and long-range cruise missiles from surface ships and submarines is also a move in a direction that the Soviet Union has advocated and still does—ridding the seas and oceans of tactical nuclear weapons.

A whole range of the proposals submitted by G. Bush concern strategic offensive arms. We think that they supplement and augment the provisions of the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty signed 31 July this year. We favor speeding up ratification of this treaty and ensuring that the sides carry out their commitments punctiliously. In this context I would like to remind you that in the joint statement signed in Washington 1 June 1991 Presidents M. Gorbachev and G. Bush expressed both states' readiness to begin consultations on holding further talks on nuclear and space arms and—a point that I would particularly like to stress—strengthening strategic stability following the signing of the above treaty, without waiting for it to be ratified. This presupposes an even greater cut in offensive arms in conjunction with other steps to strengthen strategic stability. These measures embrace a broad range of problems, including unconditional observance of the provisions of the 1972 ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed.

Needless to say, all these points will be subject to mutual discussion in order to find solutions acceptable to both sides that would result, on the one hand, in an unconditional cut in nuclear arms, be they tactical or strategic, and, on the other, would ensure the sides' equal security without detriment to anyone.

In this connection I would like to draw attention to the following. Naturally there has been widespread reaction to the U.S. President's initiative in various countries. Britain's SUNDAY TIMES also voiced its opinion: "The United States relies mainly on submarine-launched cruise missiles, while the Soviet armed forces depend on land-based systems. The Bush initiative envisages eliminating a low-priority part of the U.S. arsenal, while demanding that the Soviet Union give up its main component."

I cited this quotation as confirmation that Bush's initiative needs further consideration. That was precisely why USSR President M. Gorbachev said that the U.S. President's proposal will require time for careful study. During further talks both sides must take account of all the facts, and all factors affecting strategic stability must be taken into consideration.

At the same time I must stress: As far as the Soviet side is concerned, by and large it will undoubtedly take corresponding matching [sootvetstvuyushchiye adekvatnyye] measures in response.

I would at the same time like to point out something else. I have before me a translation of the full text of G. Bush's speech. Some mass media have, as it were, disregarded one part of it. Here is what the President said about his initiative, inter alia: "These steps are designed to reduce the danger and probability of mistakes in a crisis situation. Nevertheless we must resolutely continue to follow our program for modernizing strategic arms, which serves the same purpose. We must implement the B-2 bomber program and SDI," that is, the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Thus, G. Bush's initiatives are not unequivocal from our viewpoint [predstayut pered nami ne odnoplanovo]: On the one hand reductions and cuts in some types of arms, including strategic offensive arms, and, on the other the implementation of extremely expensive military programs costing billions.

Naturally we cannot disregard any of these things when we are talking about disarmament and simultaneously ensuring the country's reliable security. [passage omitted]

Grachev Urges Disarmament Talks 'Without Delay'

OW0110155691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO at 1530 GMT]

[Text] Colonel-General Pavel Grachev, USSR first deputy defence minister, described President Bush's statement on liquidating American land-based tactical nuclear weapons as positive in every respect. As for the Soviet Union's response, it will be possible to speak about it definitely only when inter-governmental delegations from the USSR, the U.S., Britain and France agree as to precisely which types of nuclear arms will be reduced, when and where, he said in an interview for IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent Irina Inoveli.

According to the first deputy defence minister, talks on this issue should begin without delay.

Commentator Hopes For Reciprocal Arms Moves

LD0110135891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0000 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] There has been widespread positive response in the Soviet Union to Mr. Bush's initiative last Friday on the reduction of nuclear weapons. In his first reaction to the news, President Gorbachev called it very positive, with the Russian leader, Boris Yeltsin, and the Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Pankin, following suit. Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov:

Mr. Gorbachev spoke of the process of nuclear disarmament acquiring further dynamism, and Mr. Yeltsin called for identical Soviet moves to match America's initiative, while the Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Pankin,

in a speech in New York said his country was ready to meet the U.S. halfway. There are all indications that Moscow will soon reciprocate U.S. proposals for diminishing nuclear threat.

This turn of events instills hope that the Soviet Union will make use of the newly emerging chance for strengthening international security, particularly in the wake of last month's hardliners' coup attempt in Moscow. There are signs of growing understanding and trust of Moscow's policy, unlike in the past. Nuclear cuts will bring greater world security and relieve the burden of defense spending, although some initial expenditures will be needed to cover the cost of shipping and storing some types of nuclear weapons, as well as the elimination of warheads. This will pay back in time. The chairman of the representatives' defense committee, Mr. Les Aspin, put the cost saving from Mr. Bush's proposals at $500 million this year. This can be much smaller compared to savings from cuts on programs such as SDI or stealth bombers as proposed by some congressmen, but the White House held out promises of intensifying the whole of nuclear disarmament process, which may well spread to other dangerous weapon systems conceived in the cold war period.

As time goes by, it becomes increasingly clear they are not worth the money and resources spent. Moscow, more than America, sets great store by the economic factor stemming from disarmament. The pace of Soviet reform and creation of a new union largely depends on the progress on areas such as cuts in military production and defense spending.

On the same day as Mr. Bush unveiled plans for nuclear cuts, the caretaker government in Moscow adopted a resolution on reducing defense spending by $10 billion. Other moves may follow. It now makes no sense for both countries to cling to their huge military machinery.

Reasons Behind U.S. Arms Initiative Contemplated

PM0110113791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Shalnev article: "The White House's Domestic Preparations"]

[Text] New York—No doubt about it. George Bush has amazed the world and especially those of his critics who accused him of lacking strategic vision and of being unable and unready to anticipate events rather than just follow them. As a NEW YORK TIMES commentator put it, for the first time in Bush's presidency he has tried to make his mark on world history.

George Bush did this in an extremely characteristic manner—by maintaining the kind of secrecy which left even America's closest allies in complete ignorance of the White House's disarmament initiative. The notification that the initiative was imminent was received by Bonn, London, Paris, and NATO headquarters in Brussels just a few hours before Bush spoke on U.S. television. The next to be informed after the Europeans were Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin—in that order—and then Tokyo, Canberra, and Seoul.

As I understand it, the U.S. Congress, including its top leaders, did not know about it in advance either, although they surely should have.

Within the administration itself, fewer than 10 people or, to be more precise, the so-called "big eight," knew what the President was contemplating. Apart from Bush there was National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, future CIA Director Robert Gates, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, Secretary of State James Baker, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell, and Vice President Dan Quayle. This is that stable group in which Bush sounds out and adopts his key foreign policy and national security decisions.

The final decision to put forward an initiative on nuclear arms reduction was made by the White House on 17 September: That was the day that Bush signed the relevant directive. However, the decision itself originated at the end of August when the President and General Scowcroft, sitting comfortably on the back porch of the Bush's vast country house at Kennebunkport, Maine, held what THE NEW YORK TIMES calls a "philosophical conversation which resulted in the conclusion that the time had come to stop being mere observers of world events and that there was a need for broad, long-term vision."

If you analyze the President's speech and comments of his immediate advisers, it is hard not to conclude that one of the main incentives for Bush and his entourage was the serious uncertainty over who has and, most importantly, who will have a finger on the Soviet nuclear button.

The White House's concern was intensified by the signals which began to come from the republics, where there have been calls that the nuclear weapons sited on those republics' territories remain in "local hands." U.S. military strategists did not exactly go into raptures of delight at the thought that tactical weapons deployed in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, for example, might pass from Moscow's control and become "instruments of struggle between republics," as has been noted here.

Our second problem, as America sees it, is the elaboration of the kind of response to the White House initiative which, on the one hand, would take into account what the Americans themselves call the serious omissions and problems of the Bush proposal which are bound to affect the Soviet Union's security interests. In particular, the fact that Bush is leaving intact the B-2 strategic bomber program and the "strategic defense initiative."

Speaking in an ABC TV program on Sunday, Defense Secretary Cheney categorically rejected the idea that the

United States should share SDI technology with the Soviet Union although such an idea has been expressed a number of times by the father of the "star wars" program, Ronald Reagan. What Washington will work for now is the achievement with us—by means of talks—of an agreement on the substantial modification of the ABM treaty, the kind of modification which would quite legitimately enable the United States to begin deployment of the system. In this context we have clearly been given to understand that if there is no accord, Washington will embark on a unilateral modification.

As for the unilateral element, Richard Cheney said bluntly in the ABC interview that if there is no adequate response from Moscow to the Bush initiative, the United States "will restore" some things to "their old position." For example, it will redeploy sea-launched nuclear systems and bring the strategic bombers back to a state of combat readiness.

One last point. Even though the disarmament initiative is aimed primarily at the outside world, its elaboration was partly dictated by "domestic" considerations. Opinion polls, both public and confidential White House polls, show that a growing number of Americans are convinced of the need for major cuts in military spending.

Bush's grandiose initiative may give voters the impression, albeit not entirely correct, that nuclear disarmament will immediately release colossal resources, which can instantly be used to resolve America's domestic problems, which are becoming increasingly neglected and complex. But such an impression is just what Bush will need when he begins the election campaign for another 4-year term in the White House.

IZVESTIYA on U.S. Reaction to Bush Proposal

PM0110115891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "The Pentagon Jumps to It"]

[Text] Washington—Last Saturday morning at Grand Forks U.S. Air Force base (North Dakota) and 11 other air bases in several states the B-52 and B-1B strategic bombers were taken off permanent alert status. This means that aircraft which were formerly in a state of around-the-clock readiness for takeoff with their duty crews and their cargo of nuclear weapons are now switching to the normal routine of a military air unit. The crews will leave their cockpits, and the supply of bombs and missiles will be moved to weapons reserve stores.

The lifting of the permanent combat readiness status of U.S. strategic aviation was announced Saturday morning by U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney at a Pentagon press conference. He announced that in line with the President's decision he has issued an order taking 40 strategic bombers at 12 Air Force bases off alert status. At the same time 450 Minuteman strategic missiles, which are to be destroyed under the terms of the Soviet-U.S. Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, have been withdrawn from combat readiness.

According to R. Cheney, his order is the initial stage in implementing the first phase of U.S. President G. Bush's initiatives in the field of reducing nuclear weapons. At the same time the defense secretary gave his first comment on the President's plan. In particular he stated that the measures envisioned by the plan are "the biggest changes in the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons since they were first integrated into the U.S. Armed Forces in 1954." G. Bush's plan, R. Cheney said, "will make the world a safer place."

The U.S. mass media reported initial responses to the U.S. President's initiatives. These are seen both by American public opinion and abroad as a major positive step in strengthening international peace. Leaders of Congress, including Democratic Party representatives, expressed their support for the administration leadership.

Thus G. Mitchell, the leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, expressed his satisfaction with G. Bush's initiatives. Some of the measures proposed by the President, he announced, had long been advocated by the Democrats in Congress. He also proposed that the President should "go further" and put forward additional disarmament proposals, including the complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

"These bold initiatives put forward by the President deserve support from all Americans," D. Boren, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, stated. "We are faced with a unique opportunity to begin a process that will really reduce the danger of nuclear war." For R. Dole, the leader of the Republicans in the Senate, G. Bush's plan is "a massive step in turning his promise of a 'new world order' into concrete reality."

Democratic Senator E. Kennedy called G. Bush's proposals "sensible, timely, and impressive." At the same time he called on the U.S. President "to use the same binding logic to resolve the question of halting the B-2 bomber construction program and reducing the scale of the 'Star Wars' program from the generous level it enjoyed during the Cold War." The prominent U.S. legislator expressed his disappointment over the lack of any such decisions in the President's plans.

Commentators are noting that President G. Bush has come out with his initiatives on cutting nuclear weapons at a time of growing realization by American public opinion that it is possible and expedient to make appreciable cuts in overall military expenditure.

Petrovskiy on Arms Talks With State Department

OW0110183291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO at 1745 GMT]

[Text] The USSR called for a rapid distribution of discussion topics with the USA, which would help to interpret President Bush's complex initiative down to the very last detail. The results of the following discussions would help to decide the concrete paths towards the realization of the ideas in the American initiative. The discussions would also be the basis for an agreement reached through cooperation and mutual efforts. The Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy commented on this topic at a briefing in Moscow.

With this in mind, the Soviet Foreign Ministry is attempting the following steps:

1. The Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, who is presently in the US taking part in a General Assembly meeting of the U.N., has already spoken directly with US Secretary of State Baker in order to cooperate on an outline to realize the Bush initiative.

2. The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Alexiy Obukhov is travelling to America to consult with the leaders of the US State Department in the first ten days of October. They are planning to take a close look at a row of questions raised in the new proposal by the American administration, and also to draft some complimentary Soviet ideas.

3. The Soviet Foreign Ministry is ready to start any form of contact with its American counterparts to decide the question of ending atomic weapons testing. In particular, it has been suggested to the American side that talks on future radical reductions of underground atomic testing be renewed without delay. A Soviet delegation is prepared to start practical work on such talks with its American colleagues in the coming days.

4. The USSR intends to seek possible opportunities of cooperation between the USSR and the USA in the area of arms conversion in the upcoming visit of the US First Deputy Defense Minister General Atwood to the USSR. General Atwood will be meeting with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov. ("DP" has been told that this visit will happen in the middle of November.)

Mr. Petrovskiy also emphasized that the American proposals reflect a "new quality" in the efforts of the governments on the topic of disarmament. These proposals will be realized in a kind manner and take on large-scale proportions. As a result, in Petrovskiy's words, "a premise is made for a model of stability between the USSR and the USA in such an all-important question as disarmament." He also remarked that "on a certain level this was an important link in the process of disarmament for all other states which have such deadly weapons."

Quality changes, in Mr. Petrovskiy's words, are reflected in the new style of conducting foreign relations. He especially remarked on the fact that Bush, before publicizing his initiative, informed not only traditional US allies of the content, but Soviet President Gorbachev and Russian President Yeltsin as well. "This," said Mr. Petrovskiy, "is a clear cooperation the Soviet-American relationship is experiencing during the settlement of such sharp problems of world politics."

"DP" posed the question, will the Ukraine, Kazakstan and the other republics take part in the up-coming Soviet-American dialogue, and if so, in what form. To this Mr. Petrovskiy replied that "undoubtedly, this dialogue will be conducted in agreement with them."

In Mr. Petrovskiy's opinion, the American proposals open wide perspectives for continual demontage [dismantling] in Soviet and American military structures. Besides this, they may have influence on progress in other spheres of weapons reduction and disarmament, regarding in particular chemical weapons and conventional arms. Mr. Petrovskiy surmised that this should promote regional aspects of disarmament, in particular, for the Middle East.

ABM, Space Weapons Disarmament Talks Open

LD0110131691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1131 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Geneva, 1 Oct (TASS)—In keeping with the USSR-U.S. understanding of 1 June 1990, the ABM and space group has started its 16th round of talks here, within the existing structure of USSR-U.S. negotiations on nuclear weapons in space.

In particular, the talks aim to draw up effective agreements that will prevent the arms race in space and end it on earth, thereby strengthening strategic stability. This is how it was formulated in the mandate of the two delegations which was agreed by the sides in January 1985.

Karpov, UK Diplomat Discuss Disarmament Issues

LD0110153991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov today received D. Logan, minister at the British Embassy in the USSR. As reported by the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, there was an exchange of views on a number of key disarmament problems, including those linked to the nuclear arms initiative of U.S. President George Bush.

Worldwide Issues

Pankin Activities, Consultations at United Nations

Discusses Arms Control, Cuba, Food Supply

LD0110102991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0640 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Shitov]

[Text] New York, 1 Oct (TASS)—Soviet-American consultations linked to U.S. President George Bush's new arms control initiative could start in Washington as early as 9 October. USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, who is currently in New York for the UN General Assembly session, stated this in an interview on Monday with American PBS television. He said that such consultations will be held at the deputy foreign minister level. Asked to give an assessment of the Bush plan, the Soviet minister said: "To me, this initiative is important primarily in its scope, in the way it encompasses nuclear armaments. Clearly, no less important is the fact that it is a unilateral step. It seems to me that at this time unilateral steps are the catalyst for progress in the disarmament process, indeed in political detente in general. This is a real challenge for peace on President Bush's part, yet at the same time this is also a response to the political challenge for peace launched by our people in starting perestroyka, routing the putschists, and embarking definitively and irreversibly on the path of democratic development."

B.D. Pankin gave a positive reply to a question as to whether or not the Soviet Union intends to take any steps in response to the decision to eliminate U.S. tactical nuclear arsenals. "We shall certainly take responsive measures, especially as during the recent meetings with Secretary of State Baker in Moscow and Washington we were insisting on beginning talks on tactical nuclear arms, with a 'third zero' in mind. So we shall take unilateral steps. But there is a whole series of measures proposed by the President that require mutual solutions. It is on these issues that consultations will be held in Washington."

In the view of the USSR foreign minister there presently exist all the necessary conditions for arms control talks not to be protracted over many years, as before, but to be held "considerably more quickly, more effectively." B.D. Pankin did not agree that the progress of the talks could be adversely affected by conservative sentiments in the Soviet bureacratic apparatus responsible for disarmament problems. "I do not think this will happen. If you look at the recent past, it was not the bureaucracy as such that was to blame, but a concealed desire and intention to drag out the talks, to block disarmament, including nuclear weapons. It can now be said that these tendencies were personified precisely by figures from the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency."

The head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry reported that he had discussed with his colleagues in New York various initiatives on arms control. Among them, in particular, was the idea of convening at a high level—possibly even at a summit—a conference of the leaders of four nuclear powers: the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France. They would "talk about the prospects for nuclear disarmament" and "turn the dialogue into a quartet." Replying to the next question, B.D. Pankin added that representatives of China would, of course, also be invited to such a conference. "Logic speaks in favor of all five permanent members of the Security Council in such a case sitting down at the table and talking on this subject. In my view, the time has come for this."

During discussion of Soviet-Japanese relations, the head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry said that they currently contain a dialogue on an entire range of problems, including conclusion of a peace treaty. "I met Foreign Minister Nakayama here in New York in connection with this subject, and he will visit Moscow around mid-October," B.D. Pankin announced. "Naturally, we shall continue our dialogue, and I think that he will be received by President Gorbachev and by Russian President Yeltsin. I think this will be a major step toward resolving the problems that exist between us."

When the subject of Soviet-Cuban relations was broached, B.D. Pankin noted that in all spheres these ties are now being placed on a "normal" footing. He continued: "I believe that in the final analysis our Cuban partners will view this with understanding, because there is nothing out of the ordinary here. I must say, however, that during negotiations with the Americans, when we told them of the measures we are taking, we asked them also to help create a climate of trust in the region around Cuba. In particular, the expediency of continuing the economic blockade is becoming an issue. It is hardly necessary. Naturally, the question of the future use of Guantanamo Naval Base and of various military maneuvers there and other exercises around Cuba also arises. In this sense, even our position is, in its own way, a unilateral step.

The conversation also covered the economic situation of the USSR and its ability to meet payments. The minister recalled that the USSR "had always fulfilled all its obligations" and expressed confidence that in the future too "we will not let our partners down, nor they us." Discussing the food situation in the USSR, B.D. Pankin admitted that "a problem exists and it is indeed most acute." Having explained certain reasons for this situation, he went on to say: "I was at a session of the State Council prior to departing for New York. On the one hand, great domestic measures are being taken, including economic and financial measures, in order to interest those holding grain and other produce in placing it all into the market and preserving the harvest that has been produced. On the other hand, of course, under these conditions we are counting heavily on the support of the international community. We consider it fitting to ask for this help, as the stage our country is going through is such that it assumes international solidarity. As an

American I spoke with said: 'We are helping you today because tomorrow we will need you.' I think that is a very good formula."

Finally, B.D. Pankin was asked if he expected any improvement in the situation in the USSR or if he thought the situation inevitably would be shaken more. "I can see better prospects," he replied. "It seems to me that the light appeared at the end of the tunnel after such an unconcealed attempt was made to turn back history. However, I repeat that we ourselves must make great efforts along the way, and that the whole world around us—particularly the West, which has greater means—must think seriously about how to help us in doing this."

Assesses Upcoming Economic Aid Meeting

LD0210032391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0040 GMT 2 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations, 2 Oct (TASS)—A united mission of the European Comunities and the countries of the "seven" on a representative level is going to Moscow in October to hold consultations on all the topical issues of economic assistance. USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin reported this on Tuesday at a news conference in New York, pointing out that the issues of the situation in the Soviet Union, and assistance to the USSR, were among the main issues at the talks that he had.

The mission will make contact with the interrepublican economic committee headed by Ivan Silayev. It will act on behalf of all the leading states in the West and take into consideration the opinion of international finance organizations, the Soviet minister noted.

The proposal that such a mission should be sent was made in the course of the consultations between the Soviet minister and the ministers of foreign affairs of the European communities and of the "seven" in New York, at which questions of rendering assistance to the USSR in this complicated period were discussed. B.D. Pankin reported that Hans van den Broek, minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands, formally made the proposal on behalf of the EEC.

This important proposal was examined in Moscow and accepted. We are proposing to our partners holding this meeting, starting on 14 October. We have already informed them of this via diplomatic channels, the Soviet minister noted.

During our 12 plus one meeting the minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands expressed the idea that it would be good to send a mission of the 12 to Moscow for talks with Silayev's committee so that the work would take on a purposeful practical nature. Because representatives of the "seven" participitated in the meeting—let us say it openly—it was not without my participation that it was decided to unite the efforts of the 12 and the "seven." Naturally, at that moment it was not possible to resolve more specific issues. Our partners waited for our consent. Now this consent has been given. We propose to meet on 14 October. We will await the relevant signal from them.

We are expecting that the conversations will not start again from scratch, because even in the last month following the defeat of the putsch there have been very intensive contacts at all levels, starting at the highest level in Moscow, New York, London, Brussels, The Hague, Paris, Bonn, and more.

Urges Sensitivity Over Kuril Islands

LD0210075491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0426 GMT 2 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochekov: "Boris Pankin on Problem of Kuril Isles"—TASS headline]

[Text] United Nations, 2 Oct (TASS)—"It is not really correct to discuss the exchange of the Kuril Islands for billions," USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, stated on Tuesday at a New York news conference. Replying to a Japanese journalist's question regarding shifts forward in resolving the territorial issue, he pointed out, that "problems, including territorial ones, exist" in relations between the USSR and Japan. A shift forward has already begun, in Pankin's opinion, in the fact that whereas earlier we did not, in general, acknowledge that such problems existed, now we do acknowledge them. This was discussed during President Gorbachev's visit to Japan, and is also mentioned in Boris Yeltsin's five points, in which the first point acknowledges the problem.

"Talks are currently under way on the long awaited Soviet-Japanese peace treaty. Here I met with Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama. Soon, in October, he will come on an official visit to meet with President Gorbachev, and with Russia's President Yeltsin," Pankin reported. In the context of these talks the territorial issues will be resolved as well, he stressed.

People of different nationalities with their own opinions live on the Kuril Islands, Pankin continued. They even responded to talk about the possible sale of the islands by forming a Kuril Islands protection committee. So, both politicians and journalists should be very careful when speaking of this problem because of its sensitivity to both countries, Pankin noted.

Notes 'Imminent' Disarmament Talks

LD0210105391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0237 GMT 2 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov and Yevgeniy Menkes: "Boris Pankin in New York on October Consultations on Whole Range of Disarmament Problems"—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] United Nations, 2 Oct (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin on Tuesday [1 October] told

a news conference in New York about forthcoming consultations on 9-10 October on a wide range of problems concerning disarmament which would be held, in part, in the context of the proposals recently advanced by U.S. President George Bush.

The entire schedule for the imminent talks and consultations on all aspects of disarmament has been compiled by Viktor Komplektov, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. and Brent Scowcroft, U.S. National Security Adviser, Pankin said. This was accomplished when the Soviet ambassador was invited to visit Scowcroft in Washington and they discussed further steps in the development of bilateral contacts. Starting from 9 October the consultations will be held in Washington and a number of European capitals. [passage omitted]

Pankin was asked whether representatives of the republics will be included in the Soviet delegation and if not, at what stage of the talks would this be done, since during the present UN General Assembly session, the representatives of Belarus and the Ukraine have declared that all matters relating to nuclear weapons on their territory should be resolved only with their participation. He replied: "In accordance with statements by the country's president and the State Council, control over nuclear weapons in our country is in one pair of hands, the president's hands, who is also commander in chief. These weapons are situated in four of our republics: Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. It is natural that these republics' leaders, who are on the State Council, justifiably believe they should be kept informed about the way the central leadership is dealing with these matters. Of course, all major decisions regarding future nuclear disarmament issues will be examined at the State Council and the Supreme Soviet. As far as the consultations to be held, it will be a case of top-level experts just meeting, rather than making decisions. It is experts rather than representation that is needed here. A Ukrainian and a Belarusan may end up on the Soviet delegation but not because they represent the Ukraine or Belarus, only because they are experts in these matters. Foreign ministers of the three republics of Turkmenia, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan have been present at the UN General Assembly session as part of the Soviet delegation. The Ukraine and Belarus delegations were headed by foreign ministers. We have worked together very constructively and harmoniously according to the scheme worked out in our country. And we have not had any problems whatsoever."

Reviews Outcome of UN Trip

LD0210092891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 2 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov and Yevgeniy Menkes: "Boris Pankin's News Conference on Trip to New York"—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] United Nations, 2 Oct (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin held a news conference on Tuesday to discuss the outcome of his trip to New York heading the USSR delegation to the 46th UN General Assembly session. Pankin said that the main topic of his visits and talks with eminent politicians from various countries had been the USSR situation following the August putsch. In his words, over these days, contacts had been very intensive with the U.S. leadership. Pankin's first meeting with U.S. President George Bush took place. "The main conclusion I would draw from the meetings is that the decisions we made on building a new Union of sovereign states and the implementation, on the basis of these decisions, of practical measures to set up political, economic, and other structures for the new state system have been greeted with world interest and understanding. Many countries are ready to help at this difficult time in our development," Pankin noted.

He discussed the understanding that had been reached that a joint mission from the European Community and the "seven" countries at a representative level would be going to Moscow in October to hold consultations on all aspects of economic cooperation. This mission would be in contact with the interrepublican economic committee headed by Ivan Silayev. It would act on behalf of all leading Western states and take account of the opinion of international finance organizations, Pankin pointed out. "It is not only important to get credits, it is important to make use of them in such a way that they would help us through this difficult time, and also to lay down the necessary foundations for implementation of profound economic reform which would create a stable market economy in our country," Pankin stressed. "We do not expect the talks to start from scratch because, even over the last month since the putsch, there have been intensive contacts at all levels", he said.

Pankin continued discussing the forthcoming consultations on a wide range of problems concerning disarmament which would be held, in part, in the context of the proposals recently advanced by President Bush. These consultations will be held from 9-10 October in Washington and a number of European capitals. The deputy heads of the foreign policy departments of the two countries, A. Obukhov and R. Bartholomew, will be meeting in Washington. At these talks, President Bush's proposals will be given paramount attention, Pankin noted, adding that "at this meeting we will be able to set out in detail our reaction to these proposals. We will also raise the issue of a nuclear weapons test ban. I am not ruling out that the French proposal about a meeting of representatives of the four countries possessing nuclear weapons in Europe will be mentioned. We are suggesting that discussions on the whole range of issues concerning the non-proliferation of weapons on mass destruction start in Washington on 11-12th October." [passage omitted]

Answering a question regarding convocation of a Near East peace conference, Pankin expressed the opinion that such a conference may start before the end of October.

Grachev Gives Briefing on Bush Disarmament Plan

LD0110175191 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—The Soviet Union will accept the challenge of the United States in the nuclear disarmament sphere, Andrey Grachev, an aide and head of the Soviet president's press service, told a briefing here today, commenting on the Soviet reaction to the recent Bush initiative on radical reduction of nuclear potentials.

In the words of Grachev, the Soviet side will try not to miss new possibilities that have opened up in the process of nuclear disarmament, which has passed important stages at summits in Reykjavik and Geneva.

The Soviet presidential spokesman pointed out as a practical step in this direction, Gorbachev's instruction to state bodies to elaborate a number of response actions and counter proposals within a week.

The Soviet Union may offer a coordinated counter program of measures in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

With this aim the Soviet president has nominated a certain group of persons to keep contact with the U.S. Administration. The group is to begin working today.

Earlier the Soviet Union decided to begin the removal from alert duty its intercontinental ballistic missiles, covered by the Soviet- U.S. Treaty on Strategic Offensive Weapons.

Grachev told the briefing that tomorrow the Soviet president is expected to have a "substantial and important conversation" with German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Under the mutual agreement, the conversation will be filmed by TV companies of the Soviet Union and Germany.

The topic of the conversation will be the united Germany in the new Europe.

Asked about the progress in the elaboration of the draft economic treaty, Grachev said that within the next three days, it will be submitted for consideration to republican prime ministers, who intend to participate in its signing.

After a complete concordance, the document will be submitted for approval to the State Council of the Soviet Union.

The preparations of a new draft Union treaty is being done parallelly and, to a considerable extent, simultaneously. "Under a general agreement with other republics, the draft should be submitted by the Soviet and Russian leaderships for their consideration within the next day," Grachev said.

The final agreement on both documents can be reached within October, he noted.

Notes Significance of Initiative

LD0110205991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1930 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Kuzin on press briefing by Andrey Grachev, USSR presidential press secretary, at the Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow on 1 October; Grachev remarks recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Grachev] Of all the meetings and conversations this week, I rank the telephone conversation between President Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush as first in order of importance. The Soviet Union attaches exceptionally great significance to the initiatives expressed by the American side, according to a statement by President Gorbachev. They assess them positively and regard them as an important and historic chance for a possible new breakthrough on the issue of nuclear disarmament. [passage omitted]

[Kuzin] At recent briefings, journalists have focussed close attention on the state of the Soviet economy and on Western aid to the USSR. In this connection, Andrey Grachev today noted the following:

[Grachev] A certain proportion of this aid, especially food supplies, may be used by the West to boost, or revive if you like, East European exports to the Soviet Union. This will concern more than food supplies, including the restoration of some industrial, cooperative, and other ties that were unjustifiably disrupted between the USSR and eastern Europe and had a ruinous effect on the economic situation on both sides.

Conference on International Security Opens 30 Sep

LD0110115491 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—The international conference "Urgent Problems of International Security" opened in Nakhabino near Moscow on Tuesday.

The conference, organised by the Centre for National Security and Strategic Stability and the Association of Independent Publications, is a commercial event and journalists are not allowed.

The organisers intend to sell verbatim reports of the conference for 75,000 roubles or the equivalent in hard currency.

Participants will discuss a system of collective security, new goals and priorities of NATO, plans for its reorganisation, military reforms in the Soviet Union, the United States and NATO and conversion in defence industry.

The conference is being attended by specialists from the largest Western research centres and representatives of NATO regional commanders, including of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

Soviet Membership in Council of Europe Reviewed

PM3009112991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[By correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Council of Europe: Ways To Help the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Strasbourg—The process of the international community's recognition of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia is continuing. They have been granted "special guest" status at the Council of Europe (CE), the most representative organization of the Old Continent, with 25 member states.

This decision was adopted by the Bureau of the CE's Parliamentary Assembly, which opened in Strasbourg. At the same time the examination of the three Baltic republics' applications for full membership of the CE also began.

They could be accepted into the CE as early as spring 1992, C. Lalumiere, CE secretary general, noted at a meeting with journalists. In her words, this will, however, largely depend on how Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia manage to resolve the problem of the national minorities living in their territories.

"Participation in the CE's activity," Dajnis Ivans, deputy chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, said in conversation with me, "will enable us to expand political, economic, and legal ties with the European states and will help to consolidate stability in our republic and provide a further guarantee of its independence. At the same time, admission to the CE means that this organization will monitor the development of events in Latvia."

The central question at the present session of the CE's Parliamentary Assembly was the situation in the Soviet Union. Special attention was given to supplies of food to "reinforce democracy" in our country and in other East European states. The parliamentarians will also examine questions of the situation in Yugoslavia (the president of the SFRY Presidency will be speaking in Strasbourg) and Albania, the activity of the OECD, the contribution of Islamic civilization to European culture, and so forth.

The draft recommendation submitted for discussion by the Parliamentary Assembly notes the need to give the Soviet Union technical and humanitarian help and adopt stabilization measures to facilitate foreign capital investments. The parliamentarians also want to expand the CE's financial potential to ensure for the Union and its republics the necessary legal assistance.

The CE Parliamentary Assembly opened a few days after Lalumiere's return from Moscow, where she had been taking part in the work of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension and met with Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Pankin.

"The leaders, both in the Kremlin and the Russian White House," she said at a meeting with journalists in Strasbourg, "want to strengthen relations with West Europe and in particular with the CE. In conversation with me Soviet leaders stressed: 'Yesterday we were interested in the CE, today we need it'."

Let us remamber that the Soviet Union received "special guest" status in 1989. After that it signed a whole series of major CE documents, including the European Cultural Convention. Within the framework of the CE program, Soviet specialists are cooperating with a group of scientists working on protection and the organization of assistance in the event of natural and technological disasters.

What are the prospects for our country's cooperation with the CE? We could become a full member of this organization, although this is hardly likely to happen in the immediate future.

"The political map of the world has recently undergone unprecedented changes, which we are bound to feel," A. Byerk [name as transliterated], chairman of the CE Parliamentary Assembly, said during a meeting with journalists. "Henceforth, we will have relations not only with the Union but also with its individual republics."

The CE, whose composition will soon include the majority of the states on our continent, is seeking to become what Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel called the "political, legislative, and ideological center" of the new Europe. By resolving general political tasks, the CE and the CSCE will increasingly complement one another, primarily in the humanitarian sphere, leaders of this organization noted in conversation with me. In time the CE's Parliamentary Assembly will possibly be a meeting place for all the deputies of the CSCE member countries.

United States & Canada

Bush Allows $585 Million in Agricultural Credit

LD0110221191 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By correspondent Aleksandr Korolyev]

[Text] Washington, October 1 TASS—U.S. President Bush has decided to make 585 million dollars in agricultural credit guarantees immediately available to the Soviet Union. It will attract U.S. private banks and other financial institutions to granting the Soviet Union loans and enable the acceleration of U.S. grain and food deliveries to the USSR.

Previously, the credits, which are the final installment in a 1.5 billion dollar package of loan guarantees, were to be "frozen" until February 1992.

"This action will put more American grain and other food into the pipeline now so that it will arrive at its destination in time to be of assistance during the hard winter facing the Soviet people", says the Bush statement circulated here today by the White House.

The granting of food so badly needed by the Soviet Union will also help American farmers since millions of tonnes of grain and other agricultural products delivered under the present credit guarantees will help preserve the dynamics of their export.

The statement of Bush was circulated here upon the completion of his meeting with U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan. Madigan heads a U.S. delegation to leave for the Soviet Union today to estimate the food situation in the Soviet Union.

The delegation includes governmental and private experts. Bush said that the task of the delegation is to help the Soviet side to upgrade the storage, transportation and sales of agricultural products, as well as to identify areas where the possibility of food shortages is especially high.

Bush Delivers 'Disappointing' Speech at UN

PM0110134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Union Edition pp 1,12

[By correspondent A. Shalnev: "George Bush's Different Speech"]

[Text] New York—George Bush warned straight away that the speech he was going to make "will be different from any speech made before by a U.S. President. I do not intend," the White House chief said, "to hold forth about superpower rivalry, which has governed international politics for half a century. Rather I will talk about the tasks of building peace and guaranteeing prosperity on a planet altered by the end of the cold war."

I confess that the speech George Bush made at the UN General Assembly session on Monday was disappointing. One expected more than a list of some of the problems the world is encountering today and will be encountering in the future. One expected (and one heard many delegates from a whole variety of countries say this behind the scenes) the U.S. President to try, at last, to formulate and actually expound his vision of a "new world order." Behind the scenes they were also expecting Bush to provide at least an outline of the role the United States, as the only power in the world today that is entitled to keep the prefix "super," will perform in establishing the "new order."

When he talked about the role of the United States, Bush limited himself to exactly six lines of text: I want to assure you, he said, in particular, that the United States has no intention of seeking a Pax Americana, that is, peace on American terms. "But," he continued, "we will not pull back into isolationism. We are offering our friendship and leadership."

But the leadership idea was not clearly defined, unless, of course, you count the points relating to the situation in Iraq. The U.S. President paid more attention to the problems of relations with Saddam Husayn than to any of the other issues he touched on. It is as if Saddam has become an obsession with Bush. The impression is that the U.S. leader is not prepared to move forward at all in any sphere until the Baghdad dictator has been gotten rid of. Bush, incidentally, confirmed that as long as Saddam stays in business the United States will not lift the UN sanctions introduced against Iraq. Everything pales into insignificance compared with the "Husayn problem."

In a speech that lasted nearly a half hour, Bush devoted only one and a half paragraphs to relations with us. The President welcomed the foiling of the conspiracy, of course. "The conspirators were trying to derail the forces of freedom and reform, but Soviet citizens refused to follow the conspirators." Bush paid tribute to the "forces of reform, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin," and noted that the "Soviet peoples now face the task of creating political systems based on individual freedoms, minorities' rights, democracy, and free markets." I think that is all the President said about us, not counting the brief mention of the fact that last year the USSR "joined the United States in the defense of tiny Kuwait against aggression on the part of Saddam Husayn." Saddam again!

There was only one concrete idea in the entire speech—revoking the old resolution whereby the UN General Assembly equated Zionism with racism. According to the President, "Zionism is not a policy. It is an idea that led to the creation of a home for the Jewish people, to the creation of the State of Israel... To place Zionism on a par with the intolerable sin of racism is to distort history, to forget about the horrific fate of the Jews in World War II and in history in general. To equate Zionism with racism is to reject Israel itself."

According to the press, Bush's call to revoke the resolution, which was adopted in 1975, is first and foremost an attempt to curry favor with Israel, whose relations with the Washington have deteriorated sharply in recent weeks over the problem of the $10 billion in American credits destined for the construction of housing for Soviet Jewish immigrants.

Bush's speech also caused what you might call a small sensation: The U.S. President categorically asserted that UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar would be retiring at the end of the year, having had two five-year terms in the post. What is sensational about it? The fact that in the last few weeks the word behind the scenes has been that Perez de Cuellar will stay another year and a half or two years, because that is what some of the delegations want. Bush's categorical utterance totally ruled this out.

In his speech Bush precisely defined the problems facing the world, but did not suggest a single solution to these problems. Not even a hint. There were anxious words, for example, about history having escaped from the thrall of communism, being reborn in new outbreaks of nationalism, ethnic conflicts, and old prejudices fraught with tension in the international community. "And although," Bush said, "we have shrugged off the fear of a nuclear catastrophe, these vicious little conflicts must alarm all of us." But the President confined himself only to stating this fact. As you can well imagine, the delegates from Yugoslavia, for example, sitting in the hall of the General Assembly and listening intently to the U.S. leader, were expecting something specific: In what way can the United States and the international community help them?

During the election campaign back in 1988, when Bush was seeking the presidency, journalists noticed in his character something they called a "vision problem," an inability to think strategically, a reluctance to anticipate events. I am sure that commentators will mention this "vision problem" now after Bush's UN speech.

But it seems to me the content of the speech was determined not so much by the abstract factor of "vision," as by entirely practical domestic political circumstances. The next presidential election is not far off, and Bush will be running again. It is clear now that no matter how important and dramatic events taking place in the world, particularly in the Soviet Union, might be, their role in the election campaign will be secondary or tertiary. It is clear also that U.S. leadership in the new, postcommunist world is bound to entail a massive financial and economic outlay, which America simply cannot handle at the moment, be it aid for the USSR, credits for Israel, or the maintenance of another UN peacemaking force.

Now is not the time for Bush to make expansive gestures, announce mighty initiatives, and propose radical solutions. The U.S. voter may simply not understand him....

Secretary Brady's Moscow Trip Evaluated

PM0210082791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[B. Ivanov article: "Nicholas Brady's Enlightenment: How the United States Plans To Assist the Soviet Union"]

[Text] U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, who was in the Soviet Union last week, has returned to Washington profoundly convinced that America must help the Kremlin to implement the planned economic transformations.

Despite the fact that in the past the head of the U.S. Treasury Department was rather skeptical about the Soviet initiatives proclaimed in the sphere of reforms—believing that our leaders were still speaking the language of the administrative edict economy—this visit, to all appearances, has made him revise that viewpoint. In the opinion of the U.S. journalists accompanying Brady, his meetings with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin, and key staffers of the Central Bank and the Ministry of Finances dispelled the doubts that he still had about the Soviet leaders' sincerity and their allegiance to the need for radical changes. "We have seen a country where democracy is taking shape and market capitalism is beginning to form," he shared his impressions with correspondents. "It was a revelation to me that people in the USSR realize that they need technical assistance in training specialists, people who constitute the infrastructure of a business society. They desire our assistance and would like it to be given now. Therefore it is very important to make it clear to them that we, in turn, want to help."

The U.S. side views its assistance on two planes. In the short term, it is a question of giving our country food and medical aid during the coming winter and of seeking some opportunity to ease the burden of Moscow's foreign debts, which, so REUTER believes, total more than $70 billion. In the long term, there is the question of creating in the Soviet Union a broad structure of educational programs designed to instruct Soviet citizens in the practical principles of business and economic activity in conditions of a market economy.

As for the most urgent problem of providing our country with food for the winter, Brady said that the U.S. Administration is prepared to give the necessary humanitarian food aid. A very unexpected obstacle arises here, however. The program, "Food for the Cause of Peace," within whose framework aid of this kind is given, prohibits assistance for "unfriendly" countries, among which the Soviet Union is still included. Thus, in order to open up the way to our country for U.S. food, the legislators on Capitol Hill will probably first have to adopt a decision on transferring the USSR to the category of "friendly" states. Taking the present situation in the Union into account, this will hardly prove a stumbling block in Congress, so observers believe.

In addition, the White House wants to have definite guarantees that the food that will be sent to the USSR will get directly to the addressee and not end up as waste or on the "black market." The Americans have demanded and received the Soviet side's assurances that it will allow the International Red Cross to control the distribution of this aid.

At the same time, as THE WASHINGTON POST believes, there is no single opinion in the Administration regarding the scale of the Soviet Union's requirements. For Brady, the sum of $14.7 billion—Moscow has requested food aid from the West to precisely this value—is "inordinately high." The U.S. secretary generally believes that, however urgent the food problem might be, there are still more important things. He is convinced that Moscow must on no account be allowed to create a situation in which it will prove incapable of

making the necessary payments on its foreign debt. Such a situation would have dramatic consequences: The USSR's reputation as a reliable business partner in the international community would perish irrevocably. In the opinion of sources at the U.S. Treasury Department, the Soviet Union will need $2-5 billion within the next five months in order to avoid such a situation. Although officials in Brady's delegation evaded answering specifically a question of which steps Washington and its partners in "the seven" are taking to lead Moscow away from the brink of the financial abyss, they unequivocally rejected the possibility of revising the payment times on debts, which could give our country some additional time to maneuver.

Moreover, neither Brady nor Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (the U.S. Central Bank), who accompanied him on the trip, regards U.S. financial aid as "vitally essential" to the Soviet Union. We really do have a lot of problems, they believe, but we are still the world's largest oil producer and one of the main suppliers of gold, and we have huge agricultural resources. In other words, we possess all we need in order to extricate ourselves from the quagmire in which we have ended up. What we lack is "technical experience and the necessary social structure," and so the United States, in the opinion of the chief U.S. financiers, must help in precisely this sphere.

Proceeding from this premise, they have advanced a number of initiatives, particularly in the matter of cadre training. For this, they believe, it would be possible to create something like a "peace corps for professionals," which would send to the USSR accountants, jurists, auditors, accounts workers, and other experts to instruct Soviet citizens in the subtleties of running financial and trade affairs.

As for large-scale financial assistance, Western countries have agreed, partly at Washington's insistence, that the optimum way to give it to Moscow is through the IMF. To judge from Brady's statements, he assured his Moscow interlocutors that the USSR would be granted special associate status at the IMF within the next few days. Full membership is also possible. For this, however, the USSR must preserve central economic power: A unified Central Bank, a unified currency, and certain centralized control over financial policy. But if the Soviet Union disintegrates into several republics with different currencies and their own currency policies, then each of them will have to apply to the IMF for separate membership. This process will be far more complex and will take many years. In addition, a multitude of currencies and central republic banks will inevitably lead to a loss of credit and financial discipline. Each republic will endeavor to strengthen the purchasing power of its own population by means of an additional emission of money, inevitably leading to inflationary chaos. Such a prospect really worries the Americans.

One of the chief aims of the U.S. secretary's trip was actually to ascertain how realistic such a version of the development of events is, because, before giving assistance, according to President Bush, the United States must clearly know "whom specifically it is dealing with in the Soviet Union." I would like to hope that the U.S. Administration will now be clear on this question.

More on Volskiy's Call for U.S. Investment

LD0110144991 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—"The chief purpose of my visit to the United States is to persuade U.S. entrepreneurs, the Administration and the Congress not to be afraid to do business in the USSR and to invest in Soviet economy. If the U.S. continues its wait-and-see attitude, it may lose the Soviet market which is now being intensively developed by European and Asian corporations", Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy chief of the USSR economic management committee and president of the USSR Scientific and Industrial Union, told TASS on Monday. He is staying in the USA at the invitation of a number of political and public organisatons, of business and academic circles in the U.S.

"Certainly there are different restrictions on Soviet-American trade", Volskiy said. "But the U.S. Government and Congress should realise that the hands of business professionals should be untied as soon as possible, and discriminatory amendmends, such as the Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson, should be eliminated. They only block the normal development of commercial and economic relations between the two countries", he said.

"Leading American corporations, such as IBM, Pepsico, Chevron and others, have already established good business relations with the USSR", Volskiy said. "Their example shows that it is profitable to do business with the USSR. Many republics, like Russia and Kazakhstan, have adopted a number of legislative acts helping Western investment".

China

China's 42d Anniversary, Achievements Applauded

PM0110103791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint" article: "Let Us Congratulate Our Great Neighbor!"]

[Text] Tomorrow, 1 October, is the 42d anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. In sincerely congratulating our great neighbor on its national jubilee, I want to encourage both our peoples to sensibly utilize the fruits of the normalization of interstate relations and to fully discover what are without any exaggeration the enormous potential possibilities of a

qualitatively new model of bilateral ties that can quite rightfully be described as good-neighborly cooperation and equal partnership.

I am emphasizing this because the August putsch and its consequences engendered in certain of my colleagues a tendency to speak sarcastically and even hostilely about countries where Communists retain a leading role in society. Following criticism of Havana and Beijing, voices chimed in that described the political stability in China as something akin to our stagnation and as an example of totalitarianism deserving condemnation.

First of all I would like to caution journalists and especially politicians against the habit of ascribing domestic criteria to foreign reality, of measuring another person's life by their own yardstick. Those who reproach Chinese leaders for political conservatism should not forget that in economics they have shown themselves to be bold and radical reformers.

This, for instance, was shown in the decollectivization of agricultural production, the granting of genuine autonomy to labor collectives, the attraction of foreign capital and technology to special economic zones, and the privatization of unprofitable state enterprises—in short, precisely in the areas where our perestroyka has been guilty of indecision, halfheartedness, and sometimes incompetence, too. Thus, it would do us good to study the experience of Chinese reforms.

Of course, we could argue endlessly about where society's renewal should be started: whether with economic reforms or with political transformations. I think that the answer to this question was obvious to China, which has managed to drag its population of over a billion out of poverty and feed it. Especially if our total deficit and foreign debt is compared with a Chinese domestic market overflowing with goods and a balanced foreign trade in excess of $100 billion.

As regards the civil strife that is undermining the country's political integrity and economic unity, the Chinese people have seen more than enough of it in their own bitter experience: clashes between rival militarist cliques; the economic separatism of the provinces, which were turned into appanage principalities; and humiliations at the hands of imperialist powers, which took advantage of the weakness of central power. It was precisely the Communists who became the consolidating force ensuring the national revival of a country that patriots once bitterly called a "dish of crumbling sand."

I say this as a man who has been dedicated to the study of China for many decades. I realize that there are people who adhere to a different opinion. That is their right. I am not at all urging people to chorus their admiration for everything that is taking place in China. I am merely asking people to be wise enough to preserve what was far from easy to acquire: good-neighborly cooperation and equal partnership between two states, one with the most territory in the world and the other with the largest population.

After all, following the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, they had to withstand a serious test of their durability. The tragic events in Tiananmen Square, the extrajudicial confiscation of CPSU property after the August putsch—all these events provoked an equivocal response in our states. Moscow and Beijing, however, remained committed to the 1989 Soviet-Chinese Joint Communique and, above all, to the principle of noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

The effect of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations on the situation, both in our countries and on the world political climate, is only starting to be felt. But it became immediately obvious in one thing: Each of the two neighboring peoples felt that it has a reliable and safe rear. It opened up the possibility of putting an end to expensive military confrontation along the longest land border in the world; that is, not only of releasing considerable resources for constructive needs but also of taking the first real step toward military detente in the Asia-Pacific region. That alone dictates the need to show careful thought and farsightedness in everything that concerns Soviet-Chinese relations, especially at the present moment, which is so difficult for our country.

Moscow Mandarin Salutes China's 42d Anniversary

OW0110181091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 2200 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Today is the first of October, a day on which the 42nd founding anniversary of the People's Republic of China falls. We at the Chinese language editorial department of the Moscow Radio Broadcasting Station wish to extend our greetings to the great people of China on this happy occasion. It is our wish that you will achieve major results in the cause of building your country and that the friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples will be continuously developed and consolidated.

The Soviet Union and China are close neighbors, and their people share longstanding traditional friendship. Therefore, it is of our opinion that we can only achieve a goal of overcoming all sorts of difficulties and achieving prosperity and happiness for our respective countries through concerted efforts based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

On this happy occasion, we wish all of you happiness, good health, and success.

Comments on Current Relations

OW0210093891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Kondratyev commentary; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Listeners: The Chinese people have annually celebrated the PRC's founding since 1 October 1949; this year 1 October marks the 42d anniversary of the

PRC's founding. Let us discuss current Soviet-Chinese relations. Please listen to station commentator Kondratyev's remarks.

He said: The common border between the Soviet Union and China is in fact the world's longest land border. Such geographic proximity prompted Moscow and Beijing to make a choice regarding Soviet-Chinese border areas: turn those areas into places for either conducting peaceful cooperation or engaging in hostility and confrontation. Relations between the two countries were put to the test many years ago. After the PRC was founded, the two great neighbors switched from friendship and cooperation to full-fledged confrontation, leading to huge losses in good-neighborly contacts in the economic, scientific, cultural, and military fields.

We now regretfully recall the past. Soviet-Chinese relations were seen as a trump card in diplomacy during the cold war. Given such a dark period, the active resumption of contacts in various spheres following the May 1989 Soviet-Chinese summit in Beijing is especially heartening.

In my opinion, Moscow and Beijing have covered considerable distance in executing their respective actions, and they have restored cooperation in many state-to-state contacts. During his visit to Moscow in May this year, Chinese leader Jiang Zemin defined new domains of interaction and cooperation. The Soviet Union and China were the first in the Asia-Pacific region to successfully implement border disarmament initiatives. I believe that the whole world, particularly the Asia-Pacific region, is relieved at the end of confrontation between the two big nuclear powers of the Soviet Union and China. Moscow and Beijing are no longer dreaded by Asian-Pacific countries. I am not exaggerating when I say that the Soviet-Chinese factor has made tremendous contributions to ending the cold war and to building new trust and cooperation in the world at large, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region.

Currently, the two neighbors of the Soviet Union and China are in the process of implementing complicated and radical reforms. In my opinion, it is very important for Moscow and Beijing to have forsaken didactic approaches in their relationships. The two sides have fostered relations on the basis of internationally recognized principles of mutual respect and freedom of choice for their own people in improving their living standards.

I believe that only trust and mutual understanding between Moscow and Beijing can serve as a good foundation for further developing overall cooperation between the two countries. There are grounds for hoping that Soviet and Chinese leaders will work to prevent fruitless theoretical wrangling, empty reproof, and utterly senseless confrontation. At the reception to mark the 42nd anniversary of the PRC's founding, Premier Li Peng said: China will develop friendly and good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union and all its constituent republics in the future. In conclusion, the station commentator said: Soviet leaders will uphold a similar line.

Northeast Asia

Medvedev Sums Up Five-Day Visit to Seoul

All Obligations To Be Fulfilled

SK0210034891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] President No Tae-u and other ROK leaders have assured the Soviet Union that all South Korean bilateral credit obligations and financial agreements will be completely fulfilled. South Korean business leaders are also accelerating implementation of these accords. This was stated by Vadim Medvedev, personal envoy of Soviet President Gorbachev, in a telephone interview with the TASS correspondent stationed in Tokyo. He summed up the results of a five-day visit to Seoul that ended yesterday, during which he had a series of meetings with the government officials and leading businessmen.

The Soviet delegate said: South Korean leaders clarified their readiness to have constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union, to strengthen reciprocal links in various fields, and to carry out the economic aid proposal which had been agreed on before.

After establishing diplomatic relations last September, the Seoul government committed itself to provide $3 billion worth of loans to the Soviet Union, including an allowance for purchasing consumer goods from the ROK. Medvedev continued by saying: Meeting with the ROK business leaders shows that interest in the Soviet market by this country's businessmen was not reduced, despite all the complications encountered by our economy. He continued: ROK commercial and industrial circles are going to participate in nature and resources development in far east Siberia. They are also interested in forming a new reciprocal cooperative venture, including a cooperative association of chemical firms. For example, Daewoo Group, one of the largest companies in the ROK, is working on development in a series of fields in St Petersburg in cooperation with a college of physics and technology named (York). According to businessmen's views, North Korea also may participate in a series of plans by the Soviet Union and South Korea. Much attention was paid to the issue of the Korean peninsula's political situation at the talks in Seoul. The Soviet Union, as well as the ROK, agreed on that the entry into the United Nations by the two Koreas should be beneficial in promoting dialogue between them.

According to Medvedev, being aware of the existence of objective difficulties in the way of Korean reunification, including economic problems, Seoul should approach reunification cautiously and step by step, based on the actual situation.

In conclusion, the Soviet delegate noted: In expressing their respect to the Soviet Union and President Gorbachev, the ROK leaders continually emphasized that protecting the Soviet Union as an allied country corresponds to maintaining peace and stability.

ROK Ambassador Interviewed

SK0210040891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Interview with Kong No-myong, ROK ambassador to the USSR, by station reporter Mikhail Krechev from "Focus on Asia" program; place and date not given]

[Text] [Mikhail Krechev] Mr. Ambassador, what do you think of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ROK and the USSR?

[Kong No-myong] The upcoming 30 September is the day on which Choe Ho-chung, then ROK foreign minister, and Eduard Shevardnadze, then Soviet Foreign minister, agreed last year in New York on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ROK and the USSR. Accordingly, the ROK could finally establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union 43 years after its own establishment. This was a great historic event that symbolizes a new order in the world.

[Krechev] Many ROK business, political, scientific, and cultural delegates are in the Soviet Union. What are the prospects of cooperation between the ROK and the USSR in these various fields?

[Kong] Of course, one year has passed since the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries. However, their practical contacts on exchanges of manpower and trade have been gradually promoted since the Olympic Games in 1988. The trade volume between the two countries amounted to approximately 150 million dollars in 1988. In addition, their trade volume amounted to 890 million dollars last year. Now, many ROK experts concerned are working very hard to attain their 1.5 billion-dollar objective for this year. The exchange of manpower between the two countries largely has increased since then. As a result, according to the government's analysis of last year, approximately 10,000 people visited the ROK from the USSR, while 5,000 people visited the USSR from the ROK. I believe that such active exchanges of manpower will further increase as years go by.

Because the two countries are geographically neighboring nations, various factors blocking the development of their relations have been removed. In addition, because the two countries' economic structures are mutually complementary, and because the two countries have a common understanding that their mutual economic cooperation is beneficial to the development of relations between the ROK and the USSR, I expect that such cooperation will be further expanded and developed in the future.

[Krechev] Now, the Soviet Union is in a difficult situation. Mr. Ambassador, how does it affect the work of your ROK embassy and your work ?

[Kong] Of course, the Soviet Union faces economic difficulties now. In addition, many efforts have been made in the Soviet Federation and in the republics to establish a new political system. Thanks to the Soviet people's more friendly and warm attitude, we are very comfortable in carrying out our tasks in the Soviet Union. In addition, thanks to the consideration of the Soviet Government and other organizations concerned with us, we have no difficulties in carrying out our tasks. I am poor at the Russian language. I wish I could speak it fluently. In addition, the reality is that it is not easy for me to overcome it. However, I am satisfied with my activities here.

[Krechev] What are the prospects for the development of relations between the USSR and the ROK in the future?

[Kong] As I mentioned before, our two countries are geographically neighboring nations. In addition, the people of the two countries have a long tradition of exchanges. They have had such historic exchanges for more than 100 years. Approximately 500,000 ethnic Koreans live in the Soviet Union as Soviet people. Accordingly, the two countries's friendly relations will be further strengthened in the future. In addition, they will move together toward freedom and democracy.

Because the Soviet Union is gradually and economically moving toward a market-oriented economy, I believe that the two countries will further strengthen their cooperation and exchanges in economy and science. Therefore, I think that prospects are for brisk development of relations in the future.

Perm Firm To Adapt Japanese Phone Technology

PM0110131791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent S. Brovashov under the general heading "Let's Go to the Market": "Hello, the West!"]

[Text] The major Japanese firm NEC, which manufactures transistor appliances and computers, is definitely looking to cooperate with the Soviet leader in the field of long-distance communications appliances—the Perm Science and Production Association ("Morion"). A recent meeting in Perm discussed a possible delivery to our country of modern automatic telephone station complexes designed for international satellite communications. In this case "Morion" could undertake to resolve the technical problems involved in adapting Japanese technology and incorporating it into our networks. It is well known that the absence of reliable international communications significantly complicates the work of those representing Western business circles in outlying areas of our country.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Foreign Ministry on Cambodian Settlement, Sihanouk

OW3009174591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 30 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program]

[Text] The last successes in reaching a settlememt in Cambodia are in accord with Soviet interests, as an executive official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry announced. In an interview with the "DP" correspondent he remarked that the "promotion" to power of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and representatives of liberal circles is in the real interests of the Soviet Union. This allows Moscow to carry out greater political cooperation with the countries of the region and with the West.

The settlement of the Cambodian conflict creates a truly new situation in Indochina and opens up perspectives of economic cooperation with the countries in the region. Under certain conditions, the diplomat considers, it could be possible to pay off debts to the Soviet Union and for Soviet business to penetrate the economy of the region's countries.

Together with which, according to this diplomat, the Paris agreement on Cambodia planned to be signed on the 31st of October, does still not mean an end to the settlememt. There still lies the basic task of creating a new state. The USSR, as a permanent member of the Security Council must, without a doubt, work towards this. But this is linked with remarkable material expenses.

"Peace, in the words of the UN General Secretary, Javier Perez de Cuellar, costs a lot of money." The cost of the Cambodian settlement for the Soviet Union amounts to approximately US $150 million. In the diplomat's opinion, the question arises here of Moscow's financial capabilities and the correlation with imminent spending due to the internal situation of the Soviet Union itself.

In the words of a Soviet Foreign Ministry official, Soviet diplomacy now faces the task of avoiding expenses without losing face. This is of concern not only in the Cambodian settlement.

Malaysian Defense Minister Meets Shaposhnikov

LD2509050991 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Oleg Moskovskiy and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Malaysian Defence Minister Mohammad Najib Abdul Razak, on an official visit in the Soviet Union, visited today the Kubinka Air Force Garrison in the Moscow region. He familiarised himself with contemporary Soviet aircraft equipment and watched demonstration flights. He was accompanied by Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR defence minister.

Then Shaposhnikov and the Malaysian defence minister had a conversation which lasted for an hour and a half. After the conversation, Shaposhnikov told TASS that the Malaysian defence minister had been planning to visit the USSR somewhat later, but had found an opportunity to come to the Soviet Union earlier in order to express his sympathies and support for the victory of democrats in the USSR.

"We noted with satisfaction the stability of our relations in the military area," Shaposhnikov said, regarding the contents of the negotiations. "We agreed that it is necessary to continue to develop these contacts between the USSR and Malaysia."

On the same day the Malaysian guest visited the Taman Guards motorised rifle division, familiarised himself with the conditions in which officers and men perform their service and with their combat training.

Joint Communique Signed on Relations With Brunei

LD0210104691 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Excerpt] United Nations October 1 TASS—A joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Brunei was signed on Tuesday at the United Nations Headquarters.

The communique was signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and his Brunei's counterpart Mohamed Bolkiah. [passage omitted]

Near East & South Asia

Pankin on Full Diplomatic Relations With Israel

'Nothing is Hindering This'

OW3009181391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 30 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In one of his recent interviews, the Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin answered the question of what still hinders starting diplomatic relations with Israel, saying that: "nothing is hindering this. It is important to choose the time for establishing diplomatic relations so that it assists the beginning of the peace conference." In the opinion of Mr. Ben-Dor, the question of establishing Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations has dragged a bit." Normal, full diplomatic relations would be a natural canal for ties between the two countries which have common interests. He expressed faith that the mistake

which the Soviet Union made in 1967, when it unilaterally severed diplomatic ties with Israel, should be corrected by Moscow. This would be in the best interests of all countries, and of course best for the Soviet Union.

The Israeli diplomat noted that the USSR as a government, has its own interests in the Middle East, and could play an important constructive and positive role in reaching a peace agreement in the region.

Soviet Position on Zionism

OW3009180491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 30 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The philosophy of new international solidarity signifies, as confirmed in practice, the de-ideologizing of the United Nations. Our organization has been renewed, and it is imperative that once and for all it rejects the legacy of the "Ice Age," in which Zionism was compared with racism in an odious resolution." The Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin made this statement during his speech at the on-going 46th session of the General Assembly of the U.N. in New York. "We can only welcome this change in the Soviet position in such a principal question as this, which refers to the shameful resolution at the General Assembly of the U.N. in 1975," responsible employee of the Israeli government's general consulate in Moscow, Mr. Josef Ben-Dor, commented on the statement by the Soviet minister. In conversation with a correspondent from "DP" he remarked that the Soviet change in position in this question is a logical result of 'glasnost' and new thinking in international politics.

In Mr. Ben-Dor's words, it is not the U.N.'s task to judge national ideologies. Equating Zionism and racism means, in the course of things, a rejection of Israel's right to exist.

Today, as we approach a decisive phase in making peace in the Middle East, which should be based on the existing reality in the region, it is essential to move away from similar dogmatic decisions and to lift the prestige of the U.N.,—the Israeli diplomat emphasized. In his opinion, this can be assisted by the revocation of the "infamous" resolution of 1975.

Editorial: Diplomatic Ties With Israel Necessary

PM0210080191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Union Edition p 10

["Editorial Viewpoint": "Diplomatic Relations With Israel"]

[Text] Our participation in a peace conference on the Near East will be at best a senseless waste of time unless full-scale diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel have been restored by the time the conference opens.

After M.S. Gorbachev, swayed by his ambitious advisers, tried unsuccessfully to snatch the initiative in ending the war in the Persian Gulf, the invitation extended to the Soviet Union to take part in an Arab-Jewish reconciliation looked more like an act of kindness on the part of the White House rather than a calculation.

U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's series of tours of the countries of the region wove the fabric of the peace process. Former USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh, literally following in the footsteps of his U.S. colleague, saw for himself that they were able to manage very well without us, and therefore, sensibly, did not bother to launch any initiatives.

However, through inertia, the long-standing view prevailed that the Soviet Union allegedly wields real influence in the Arab world. Despite the fact that, long before the outbreak of the war, the contempt with which both Saddam Husayn and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi were referring to the superpower which was once their patron was absolutely no secret.

Immediate impressions are rarely at variance with long-term diplomatic calculations. In Israel, where almost one-fourth of citizens speak Russian at home, the pull toward all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union is a powerful and long-standing trend. The kibbutz regime will arm many sovkhoz directors with positive arguments in their disputes with individual farmers, and the individual farmers themselves will gladly sacrifice ideology in return for Israeli seeds and productive livestock.

Betrayal is both foul and disadvantageous, and therefore the Arab countries' legitimate interests must find reliable support in our country. However, the hundreds of thousands of former Soviet citizens, including many veterans of our army and our national economy, also have a right to count on Moscow's understanding and assistance.

A great deal has changed in recent months. There is no longer the same potential, no longer the same wishes. We have to renouce military-strategic ambitions.

However, we are still capable of being fair-minded and honest. We will not end up in the absurd role of a dummy co-chairman if we remain honest and fair. And that means that we cannot go to the conference retaining full diplomatic relations with despotic Iraq while refusing to restore such relations with the democratic state of Israel.

Commentary on Iraqi Nuclear Program, Arms Control

LD0110123891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Sergey Koshkin commentary]

[Excerpt] According to the U.S. President's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, the scale of Iraq's nuclear program was much larger than the United States

believed it was. More from our commentator Sergey Koshkin, and this is what he writes:

Proceeding from this statement, I think it becomes quite easy to explain Iraq's opposition to United Nations inspections of its programs to develop weapons of mass destruction, first of all a nuclear program. [passage omitted: background]

It looks likely that Saddam Husayn can not get rid of his nuclear ambitions, hard as he may try. Notably there are indirect parties to blame for this situation. To implement such technically complicated programs Iraq needed foreign sponsors, so to say, who granted it a chance to obtain numerous components and technologies. Even without clarifying the specific suppliers, it becomes apparent now that the Middle East region, which is so explosive, should not be allowed to get uncontrolled supplies of any kinds of weapons of mass destruction or the technology for making such weapons. Therefore, only consent by the leading countries of the world to work out a smooth mechanism of controlling such supplies can make it possible to solve the problem.

The UN Security Council has fully backed the actions of its experts in Iraq, and according to reports in the media, a group of experts in Bahrain will make a more detailed study of the documents on nuclear research and development by Iraq.

Belonogov, Iranian Ambassador Discuss Relations

LD0110074191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1629 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 30 Sep (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov today received Nematollah Izadi, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the USSR, at the latter's request. During the course of the conversation, issues concerning the current state and prospects for development of Soviet-Iranian relations were discussed.

Iranian, Persian Gulf Countries Relations Viewed

NC0110143391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1430 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Discussions were held between the foreign ministers of the Arab countries which are members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati within the framework of the 46th UN General Assembly session in New York. We invite you to listen to our analyst Yuriy Andreyev's comment on this.

A joint statement was issued on Saturday at the conclusion of this meeting. According to experts, this document was compiled on the basis of the (?classic norms) of diplomacy according; that is, to say as little as possible. The communique is composed entirely of general terms.

In this communique, Tehran and the Persian Gulf shaykhs express their satisfaction at the growth and development of bilateral relations and stress the need to improve future cooperation. The communique stresses that the sides intend to base their relations on mutual respect, refrainment from the use of force, and nonintervention in each other's internal affairs. Iran and the GCC countries have also agreed to hold a new round of talks at the foreign ministerial level within the first three months of 1992. Apparently everything was organized and in order.

Tehran and the GCC Arab countries have highlighted their improved relations since the war. Independent observers say that this is only one side of the coin. In real politics there are many hidden obstacles in the path of Iran's rapprochement with the Arabs. First and foremost, the Islamic leadership and the Persian Gulf shaykhs cannot adopt a common approach on regional security.

Iran is totally opposed to the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf. Iran believes that regional countries should ensure their security themselves. Arab countries, however, have a different point of view because they do not trust their ability to ensure regional security. The recent defense pact between the United States and Kuwait once again confirmed this. This pact concerns the use of a number of Kuwaiti ports by the U.S. Armed Forces, the carrying out of maneuvers, and the establishment of ammunition depots and U.S. military installations on Kuwaiti territory. It was also announced in the Pentagon that Washington is holding discussions with Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates on bilateral defense agreements.

Tehran has strongly criticized all these foreign policy actions. Of course, no one paid attention to this in the Persian Gulf Arab countries.

In conclusion, our commentator Yuriy Andreyev points out: In short, two tendencies can be observed in relations between Iran and the GCC Arab countries: Rapprochement and distancing. For the time being an equilibrium has been established between these two inclinations. Sooner or later, however, one of the two will prevail.

Pankin Meets With Afghan Opposition Delegation

LD0110114691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0909 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] New York, 1 Oct (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister B.D. Pankin met an Afghan opposition delegation led by S. Mojadeddi here today.

At the top of the agenda was the release of Soviet prisoners of war [POWs]. "It is our cherished hope," B.D. Pankin announced, "that the decision by the USSR and United States to halt arms deliveries to Afghanistan will bring forward the release of Soviet people." It was confirmed that the Soviet side is not insisting that they must be returned to their homeland; released POWs

may, if they so desire, either be sent to a third country or will be welcomed home with honor. The most important thing is that they be set free. As a first step, the Soviet side would request that it be handed a list of the names of all Soviet POWs held by the Afghan opposition. Concerning prisoners from the opposition, the Soviet side will do what it can to ensure that as a settlement is reached, all who have suffered will be able to return to their families and homes. B.D. Pankin emphasized that there are no Afghan prisoners on Soviet territory.

Mojadeddi assured that Soviet POWs are being treated humanely. He said that he will do everything possible to have such a list compiled and expects that he will be able to ensure the release of another one or two prisoners in the very near future.

In light of the UN secretary general's 21 May declaration and the 13 September USSR-U.S. declaration, an exchange of views took place on the prospects for a settlement. The Soviet minister and the Afghan opposition representative agreed that a positive step toward peace in Afghanistan has been taken. At the same time, the talks demonstrated that much diplomatic effort is still required. The Afghan opposition delegation will travel to Moscow.

Afghan Mojahedin Organize Own Firearm Production

PM0110102591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Yu. Vladimirov: "A Threat, or Perhaps a 'Canard'"]

[Text] Kabul, 20 Sep—As a condition of successful political resolution of the Afghan crisis, an extremist-minded section of the opposition is continuing with its categorical insistence that Najibollah resign from the post of president of the republic and that his supporters be removed from power. The leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" and a number of field commanders believe that the recent Soviet-U.S. statement on Afghanistan only serves the interests of the Kabul regime, which in their opinion has considerable stocks of weapons at its disposal.

Foreseeing the possibility of military supplies from the United States and the West being halted, the mojahedin have organized their own firearms production, AFP reports from Islamabad citing an interview with an unnamed Afghan opposition spokesman. According to him, the mojahedin can repair artillery pieces and other combat hardware independently. For example, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan group led by Yunis Khalis in Nangarhar Province has opened workshops to service tanks and armored personnel carriers and produce spare parts for them. There are reports, AFP writes, that the Islamic Party of Afghanistan has gained access to the production of strategic missiles and BM-1 launchers (PRC). The agency goes on to say that the capacity of these installations is unknown.

What is this: A political canard or a real military threat?

India To Depend Less on USSR Arms Production

LD3009132291 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Vinogradov]

[Text] New Delhi September 30 TASS—"India is reducing its dependence on the USSR in arms production and plans to join soon the world armaments market," it was noted during the Bombay seminar on problems of arms import.

Addressing the seminar, several experts noted India's substantial progress in the development of the latest types of armaments, including torpedoes and guided missiles. This allows it to lay claim to a certain share of the very profitable world armaments market.

Until recently India imported almost 70 percent of all its armaments from the Soviet Union. However, local political analysts and military experts are increasingly apprehensive lately about the unstable situation in the Soviet Union and its possible failure to continue such deliveries.

Official Comments on Cooperation With Egypt

OW3009115591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0824 GMT 30 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature for "September 27, 1991" based on reports by diplomatic correspondents Alexander Blokhin, Igor Proshnev, and Vyacheslav Terekhov; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the past few years the Soviet-Egyptian relationship has steadily improved, said Petr Stegny, high-ranking official from the Middle East and North Africa Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Since the beginning of bilateral cooperation, he said, the Soviet Union has given Egypt technical assistance in building more than 100 facilities. Now under discussion is the possibility of Soviet participation in modernizing the smelting complex in Hilwan, the aluminum plant in Nakhamadi and several other facilities symbolizing Soviet-Egyptian cooperation.

"We are satisfied with the development of our economic cooperation with Egypt", P. Stegny pointed out. New forms of collaboration have been introduced in this area. Several highly profitable joint ventures were set up. They include "Interaroma" which specializes in the production of volatile oils, "Cleopatra" which produces perfumery and cosmetics, "Queenmosmebel" and some other joint ventures with good reputation. In Egypt there are joint ventures [in] engineering and services.

P. Stegny qualified his country's experience of cooperation with Egypt as priceless and said he hoped that its new forms will serve as a model for the region.

East Europe

KGB Implicated in Miners' Invasion of Bucharest

LD0110224891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Excerpt] Now we have a report from our correspondent in Romania. A sensational statement has been made by Senator Voican Voiculescu in the country's parliament.

[Correspondent Zheleznyak] Mr. Voican stated that after the revolution, during the purging of the security services apparatus and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, he planted his own people within those services. He has learned from them—and he has the documents to prove this—that the miners' invasion of Bucharest was an attempted coup d'etat prepared by the former party establishment and by top ranking officers of the security service under the Ceausescu regime. They have maintained constant contacts with the Moscow reactionary forces and, first of all the KGB, through their representatives working in Romania under the umbrella of a joint Soviet-Romanian venture. It is alleged that documents confirming this were found during a search of Pugo's apartment.

[Zheleznyak, shown talking to President Iliescu] Mister President, what can you say about the statement made by Senator Voican Voiculescu?

[Iliescu] I cannot say anything definite because one needs very serious proof to support such allegations. But I can assure you that every single fact will be thoroughly investigated. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Appoints New Ambassador to CSFR

LD0110192291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1538 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—The USSR president has appointed 53-year-old Aleksandr Lebedev USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

In 1961, Aleksandr Lebedev graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, subsequently working in the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, the Secretariat of the International Students' Union, the All-Union Agency for Authors' Rights, and on the editorial staff of the MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA i MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, and NOVOYE VREMYA journals. He is a candidate of historical sciences.

He has been a counsellor-minister at the USSR Embassy in the CSFR since 1990. On receiving the news of the attempted coup d'etat in Moscow on 19 August, Aleksandr Lebedev condemned the SCSE [State Committee for State the of Emergency], along with Boris Pankin, who then occupied the post of ambassador in the CSFR.

Albania Backs Kosovo's Claim to Independence

PM3009144991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Stop Press"]

[Text] 29 Sep—The Albanian Government has issued a special declaration backing the resolution adopted 22 September at an underground session of the so-called "Kosovo people's assembly (parliament)" proclaiming the "Republic of Kosovo" a sovereign independent state with the right to participate in the union of sovereign republics of Yugoslavia. Kosovo Autonomous Province is part of Serbia. The Albanian Government declaration effectively helps exacerbate political tension in one of the most explosive regions in Yugoslavia.

West Europe

Gorbachev, EC Official Discuss Aid Issues

LD0110173291 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 01 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today received the vice-president of the Commission of the European Communities (CEC), Henning Christophersen.

During their energetic and businesslike discussion, Gorbachev noted that the question of whom to deal with in the Soviet Union today, which is being frequently asked, is beginning to cause bewilderment.

He explained that there is a president, a State Council and an Inter-Republican Economic Committee, who have been authorised by republics to run things and coordinate relations with the outside world.

Gorbachev added that demands for complete clarity about everything, as well as generally desirable organisation and order in foreign economic affairs, from this country do not take into account the fact that it is living through tempestuous, revolutionary times and is in the process of fundamental change. "Since the matter at issue is cooperation with and assistance and support to us, obviously (others) have to act in these difficult conditions. There is nothing dramatic about it, however, especially if there is the understanding that the reforming of a great country along democratic, market-based principles is needed not only by it but also by the entire world," Gorbachev said.

Christophersen showed understanding for this point of view, and the debate proceeded to specific problems, most notably food supplies. The two men agreed that urgent interaction is needed in this respect and should be

seen not as a gift, as a "hand-out" but as investment in the future, which will be mutually beneficial to an extraordinary degree. All the debts will later be repaid.

Based on his now close knowledge of the USSR and its needs, Christophersen made a very rational and sharp analysis of four aspects of food aid to the Soviet Union in winter and spring. He is to discuss these issues in the next few days first in London and then at an International Monetary Fund conference in Bangkok.

Gorbachev's acquaintance with a man who plays an important role in EC economic structures, discussion with him of essential aspects of Soviet-EC relations, and the arguments and information Christophersen received first-hand can be considered another step in the progress of Soviet relations with the European communities and the "Big Seven".

Taking part in the discussion also were A.S. Chernyayev, E.E. Obminsky, M. Emerson and K. Serenson.

West Europe Deliberates Over Question of Aid

PM0110104991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[By V. Katin: "In No Hurry To Trust Us. On the Question of Aid From the West"]

[Text] Luxembourg—The EEC is now trying to resolving the complex riddle of how and with whom to cooperate in the Soviet Union, now being called the "former" Soviet Union here. Meanwhile, Moscow keeps increasing its demands as if nothing had happened. The latest figure, rounded up to $100 billion by the Union foreign minister, has caused perplexity, bewilderment, and skepticism. The Luxembourg prime minister simply shrugged his shoulders in answer to my question of whether it is realistic. EC Commission Chairman Jacques Delors is categorical in his opinion on this matter. "Helping the East European countries is our family duty. Helping the USSR is a world-scale problem."

The problem is not just the astronomical sum required to feed our people, but also the actual approach to the question of assistance. The East European countries—Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia—are appealing for help, because they do not know what to do with their meat, butter, wine, and grain and are looking for ways and loopholes to place them onto the counter of the Common Market. We are trying to get in there too, but with a completely different aim...

No, no one is directly rejecting us, and no one appears to be slamming the door in our faces or pushing away our outstretched hand. On his own initiative, the sober-minded politician Jacques Delors proposed that the Community countries listen to our pleas and increase the aid sum previously confirmed fivefold [as published]—from $500 million to $2 billion.

The difference between our appetites and their intentions is, of course, sizable. Clearly each side is proceeding on the basis of its needs and possibilities. The EEC capitals have reflected on this proposal but are in no hurry to provide a reply as yet. This is not because they are being mean with their money, but because they simply do not know whom the check should be written out to, whom to settle up with.

And indeed, who is the addressee here now? There is no center, no Union as a juridical subject, and Moscow cannot lay down the law to the independent republics. Its distributive function has gone. Obviously you have to know the specific features of the republics in order to get directly involved in partnership with them.

The EEC administration is interested in where the tens and hundreds of thousands of tonnes of products intended for the population, which is in dire need, are going to go. Will they not end up in the hands of speculators and the trade mafia?

Hence the wait-and-see stance of the West, which wants to help sensibly and know that its assistance will produce an effect. As I have observed, however, this marking time may be transformed into a different attitude of asking: Do we need to help anyway? Until recently the Germans were in the front line of "first aid." Now they have a heap of doubts. For example, I really did not like the recent statement made by Helmut Schmidt, former federal chancellor and former FRG minister of finance: "Granting credits to the Soviet Union is like pouring clean water into stagnant mud..."

One way or another, West Europe will have to come to our rescue in the approaching harsh winter. Everyone understands this, and everyone is already preparing for it. Remember, an extensive campaign of private donations of money, canned food, medicines, and clothing was carried out last winter. The Europeans are characteristically philanthropic, and they willingly part with their money when it is a question of saving starving Ethiopians, for instance. They have made donations to us, too, as I have witnessed myself. Admittedly, they expressed astonishment at the same time—after all, the USSR was always considered a great, powerful, and fantastically wealthy state. Now it is in need. The Luxembourg miller Tintinger is sending noodles to the Soviet people, and a German charitable body is handing out bowls of soup to our citizens in some St. Petersburg yard.

Judging by the moods of the French, the Belgians, and the Germans, with whom I have had occasion to talk in the past few days, the practice of making donations will be continued.

In the final analysis, the EC will weigh something out for us, measure something up, count something up. Ordinary citizens will also cut a little bit from their family budget. It is something else that is worrying me: the

virtually total refusal of private banks, firms, and enterprises to lend us money or work with us on credit. On a large scale, no one trusts us any more, believes in us, or wants to take risks.

British Experts Study Food Distribution System

LD0210063491 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By correspondents Igor Peskov and Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—A group of British experts in food distribution problems today refuted the idea that faulty distribution is the cause of food shortages in the USSR. They held a news conference on the results of their week-long stay in the USSR where they were familiarising themselves with the situation in Soviet agriculture.

Head of the delegation Sir Ronald McIntosh, chairman of the British Food Consortium, told reporters that faulty distribution of food in the USSR is not the only drawback. It cannot be said at present that Russia has all the necessary food products. This is a result of faulty management and insuficient technical equipment in agriculture, lack of quality seeds, of highly productive strains of cattle and effective fertiliser.

To remedy the situation, it is necessary urgently to supply fodder for cattle and poultry. The shortage of fodder at present could lead to large scale slaughter of cattle and poultry in winter. This will deplete the stocks of meat and dairy products, meagre as it is.

The British experts recommend that processing enterprises be built closer to production areas and that basic "producer-consumer" models be created with the aid of Western specialists. They would resolve problems of production, storage, processing, transportation and distribution of food products.

The Russian authorities are also recommended to encourage Western investors to invest funds directly in Soviet agriculture. For this purpose they should first of all be given guarantees that they will be able to receive profits in hard currency and export them. There must also be clarity about the control over prices of farm produce.

France 'Committed' to Nuclear Deterrence

PM0110123191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Union Edition p 4

[By correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Moscow and Washington Back Paris' Initiative. F. Mitterrand Announces Convocation of International Conference on Problems of Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Text] Paris—French President F. Mitterrand said that G. Bush and M. Gorbachev backed his proposal to convene a conference of Europe's four nuclear powers to consider problems relating to the security of the Soviet arsenals. This conference, F. Mitterrand said, speaking in the Paris suburb of Evry, will be held shortly, involving representatives of the former Soviet Union's sovereign republics, the United States, Britain, and France.

Voicing a high opinion of Washington's recent decision to cut nuclear arsenals, the Elysee Palace described it as "a real turning point" in disarmament. The new U.S. initiative, however, will not result in the revision of French military policy, which has lately undergone some amendments. Paris is contributing to the nuclear disarmament process, Defense Minister P. Joxe stressed. Thus, in July 1991 France decided not to produce the new S-45 strategic missiles, which should have replaced the S-3 missiles on the Albion Plateau by the end of the century. What is more, the nuclear submarine Redoutable will be written off next year.

As for tactical nuclear weapons, F. Mitterrand announced in early September that production of the new Hades missiles is being reduced to 30 units. They will be stored in dumps and not mounted at operational sites. Last, the Elysee communique notes that France, which has roughly 400 nuclear warheads, will subscribe to talks on eliminating strategic weapons when the Soviet Union and the United States have considerably reduced their stocks.

Let us recall that at the beginning of this July, France put forward its own disarmament plan envisaging a cut in the nuclear arsenals to the lowest level reconcilable with the need for deterrence, the destruction of chemical weapons, and the nonproduction of bacteriological weapons. Paris' decision to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was the most important element in this plan. People on the banks of the Seine favor the UN Security Council's playing a key role in the disarmament process. On France's initiative, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council have begun consultations on formulating measures to restrict exports of conventional arms.

While making some amendments to its military policy and abandoning, often for budgetary considerations, production of some new types of missile, France nevertheless intends to remain committed to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence in the foreseeable future.

Volskiy Discusses Economic Ties With Germany

PM0110141891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the USSR Science and Industry Union, by G. Yastrebtsov: "Arkadiy Volskiy: 'Joint Projects—the Catalysts of the Economy'"]

[Text] An agreement on cooperation between the USSR Science and Industry Union and the Federal Association of German Industry [BDI] has been signed in Moscow.

This is what Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the USSR Science and Industry Union, had to say about this event:

"Our main task is to move the economy forward, to get it out of the protracted crisis situation. Needless to say, the main burden for this rests with domestic industry. Mutually beneficial cooperation with foreign partners and joint long-term projects, however, will help us to enter the market quicker and with fewer losses.

"I believe that nongovernmental organizations such as our Science and Industry Union and the BDI have a greater chance of uniting the interests of enterprises than official government organs. We, for example, are already submitting 36 projects that Soviet industry is interested in to Mr. Weiss, the BDI president. Let me note that we have formed very good and mutually beneficial relations with similar organizations in many countries: France, Italy, Switzerland... But possibly our most intensive contacts last year and this year have been with German industrialists.

"The question of our economic relations with the eastern lands, that is to say the former GDR, is a very special one. Here, I think, it is both possible and necessary to go back to the clearing system and barter in foreign trade. Let me explain. At a recent session of the Committee for the Operational Management of the Economy, I raised this issue in no uncertain terms. Our trade with former CEMA countries, it can be said, has fallen to zero. Having done away with a single currency for transactions, we brought about an abrupt collapse, and the ties that we had formed disintegrated. Neither we or they have freely convertible currency, so how can we trade at average world prices? We must at least have an average world level of technology. Again, neither we nor they possess this. The result is lamentable: Many of our plants cannot operate normally, nor can theirs. Trade exchange has practically come to a standstill. This is also very much the case with the former GDR.

"Mr. Weiss and I discussed this very difficult problem and came to the conclusion that we must do all we can to get back to economic relations. If plants produce regular output, unemployment will be reduced. This is now important not just for the West but for our country as well.

"I repeat: In the transitional period, we must not be squeamish about clearing agreements and barter. Directors of plants are themselves finding ways to settle accounts among themselves. They are managing perfectly well here without government interference. With time, however, after having risen to a new technical and economic level, we will be able to place foreign trade on a normal and civilized footing—at world prices.

"We are habitually seen almost as an appendage to Europe that produces raw materials. Unfortunately, it is true that raw materials still predominate Soviet exports. But I do not think we should develop a complex about this. We must work doggedly to change the proportions in our foreign trade in favor of machines, equipment, and high-tech goods. There have already been some improvements. For example, against a background of overall stagnation, the following figure shines like a small ray of hope: We are selling 350,000 cars in capitalist countries. And certainly not at dumping prices.

"We shall be more rapidly developing machine building and bringing very advanced technologies into play. Cooperation with developed countries will help us to enter the world economy while incurring as few costs as possible."

KGB Officer in Munich To 'Stay' in West

LD0210045891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Soviet secret service officer (Vladimir Fomenko), who was a member of staff at the USSR Consulate General in Munich, has decided to stay in the West. DPA news agency reported this, referring to a publication being prepared by the newspaper DIE WELT. In accordance with data at the disposal of this publication, KGB Lieutenant Colonel (Fomenko) and his wife have established contacts with representatives of the Federal Intelligence Service of Germany and have announced their intention to remain in the West.

Immediately after (Fomenko) disappeared, the Soviet authorities tried to obtain information about his fate from the German authorities. The newspaper does not report whether these attempts met with success. In the course of the interrogation of the deserter, the representatives of the FRG's special services, according to DIE WELT's information, are hoping to obtain information about the Soviet reconnaissance network in Germany, in particular about ties between the KGB and the former Ministry of State Security of the GDR. It may be a question of whether Ministry of State Security agents have been transferred to bodies of the Soviet intelligence service and what role Markus Wolf, one of the former heads of the bodies of GDR state security now on the territory of the FRG and under investigation, may have played.

Police Protection Requested for Forces in Germany

PM0110130591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 p 1

[By S. Bartnikas: "If Army Is Not Defended, It Will Defend Itself"]

[Text] Radio Liberty has reported that Colonel General Burlakov, commander of the Western Group of Forces in the former GDR, has appealed to FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg to put the Soviet troops under police guard to protect them from attacks by right-wing extremist forces.

Major Yevgeniy Krivosheyev, a staffer at the Western Group of Forces press center, whom we telephoned, confirmed this information. He read out fragments from

an interview with Burlakov published in the newspaper DIE WELT in which the colonel general expressed concern over the more frequent cases of attacks on Soviet servicemen and noted that the possibility of retaliatory actions was not ruled out. "I do not think that this resistance will be organized," Burlakov said. "But patience may be exhausted."

There is no exaggeration here, Yevgeniy Krivosheyev believes. On 1 May this year, for instance, in the little town of Arapiyenburg [name as transliterated] a group of six "skinheads" killed Captain Kraynyuk, who had left a restaurant and gone missing. His body was only found two weeks later. In August this year alone 23 instances of unlawful actions by the German population against Soviet Army servicemen were recorded.

Burlakov's request can hardly have managed to reach the FRG defense minister; at any rate, he has not yet reacted to it. Soviet garrisons are not being guarded by the police and their inhabitants still go into town alone, without bodyguards. But, Major Krivosheyev said, the German police have never abandoned Soviet soldiers and officers in trouble, for which they may be thanked.

Latin America & Caribbean

Soviet-Cuban Consultations Seen as 'Difficult'

PM0210075191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[Report by correspondent A. Kamorin: "Cuba Talks Were Difficult. Preliminary Consultations Fail To Set Date for Soviet Brigade's Withdrawal"]

[Text] Havana—It is hard to remember a visit to Cuba by a high-ranking Soviet delegation being covered so scantily and dryly as the consultations held here between the Cubans and USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.D. Nikolayenko.

Yet the consultations were of exceptional interest, not only because of the "hot" agenda—the main issue of which was the forthcoming Soviet troop withdrawal from the island—but also because these were the first talks between the two sides since the official end of the "fraternal mutual understanding" era. As is well known, the Cuban leadership reacted very sharply and irritably to the Soviet decision to pull out the troops—which, together with the Soviet declarations of intent to deideologize bilateral ties, created an entirely new situation in our relations. Clearly, one of the aims of the visit to Havana by V.D. Nikolayenko, a highly experienced diplomat well-known in Cuba, was an attempt to eliminate the conflict that has arisen over this question.

"The talks were difficult," a Soviet representative said at a brief meeting with journalists at the airport. "I would like to make it clear that it was not exactly a question of negotiations on the withdrawal of our brigade, merely of preliminary consultations. Talks on practical steps to withdraw the brigade may start soon after the Fourth Communist Party of Cuba Congress" (scheduled for 10 October—A.K.).

If our deputy minister assessed the preliminary consultations as "difficult," you can imagine what the real talks will be like. It is not for nothing, as Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Alcibiades Hidalgo said, that the Cuban side is counting on a "substantially higher level" of Soviet representation at them. This desire is understandable, since very complex questions will be under discussion. And, clearly, the most difficult of these will be the problem of linking the Soviet troop withdrawal to the fate of the U.S. Naval base on Cuban territory at Guantanamo. As is well known, the Cuban Government recently stated that the only fair solution to the problem would be a simultaneous withdrawal of our troops and U.S. troops from the island. This position was reaffirmed by A. Hidalgo on Monday [30 September].

Judging by V.D. Nikolayenko's words, the Soviet Union does not consider these two issues to be directly related, even though it recognizes the justice of the Cubans' demands for the removal of the base. It is really hard to imagine that our country would be in a position to resolve this longstanding Cuban-U.S. conflict, which dates back to 1903. So, if we leave aside old, "cold-war" era ideas of Cuba as the socialist camp's front line of defense, this question seems to be more of a bilateral Cuban-U.S. issue. The fact that the USSR could in principle act in this conflict as a mediator is another matter. But, after the last Moscow summit, our representatives stated that no such plans existed.

I asked V.D. Nikolayenko to specify whether there had been any change in the Soviet position on this score.

"We believe that we can promote the normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba," the diplomat replied. "For the past few months steps have been taken to achieve certain confidence-building measures as regards Cuba. I think that there have been definite improvements in this area. This applies, for instance, to the partial restrictions on reconnaissance flights and military maneuvers near Cuban territory by the United States. Having come up with the initiative to withdraw Soviet troops, we, for our part, will be striving to reduce the level of confrontation between the two states."

However the Guantanamo question is ultimately resolved, the forthcoming Soviet-Cuban talks will be a decisive test of the strength of bilateral relations, which have been built for the past three decades more on an interparty basis than an interstate basis.

Talks Commence Late Oct

OW0110184991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talks on removing Soviet training brigades from Cuba will begin in the latter part of October, after the fourth Communist Party Congress in Cuba closes. This plan is the result of Soviet-Cuban consultations which were held in Havana with the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko. He gave an interview to a group of Soviet journalists ("DP," [Diplomatic Panorama] Interfax, TASS, and Gosteleradio).

Goals and Other Results of the Consultations

In Mr. Nikolayenko's words, the goal of his visit to Havana was to explain how the political context arose in which the Soviets would desire to initiate a removal of the training brigades. This initiative is not meant to express any anti-Cuban sentiment. On the contrary, this is meant to create a more positive international situation for the normal development of Cuba, and is the logical continuation of the Soviet Union's current politics of new thinking.

As Mr. Nikolayenko has said, these consultations were difficult because they took place in an atmosphere in which the Cubans "had already publicly expressed their sentiments about the removal of Soviet training brigades." "We had no intention of hurting or wounding the Cubans' feelings," he remarked. The USSR might unilaterally remove its troops from Cuba. "However," Mr. Nikolayenko emphasized, "we will not take this path, as such a step would be a blow to any country's pride." Effort and time are needed to remove the "emotional, propaganda-rhetorical screen" and to look beyond the screen at Soviet-Cuban relations and to value the relations. In Mr. Nikolayenko's words, a peaceful explanation was made, which was strengthened by the USSR's readiness to maintain relations with Cuba, and to continue to build them on a friendly but de-ideologized basis.

After consultations were ended, Fidel Castro spoke out in favor of maintaining all positive aspects of Soviet-Cuban relations. This, in Mr. Nikolayenko's opinion, is also a result of the consultations.

On the Intensity and Phases of Troop Removal

In the Deputy Minister's opinion, at the talks, (which will most likely take place in Havana) discussion will be on the gradual removal of Soviet military forces from Cuba. Presently there are 2800 Soviet military services [as received] in Cuba, (about 4000 including families of military people). During their removal, the experience of removing Soviets from Eastern Europe will be taken into consideration. Mr. Nikolayenko expressed hope that some of the Soviet military would already leave Cuba by the end of this year.

In response to a question by a "DP" correspondent, Mr. Nikolayenko remarked that the earlier publicized number of 12 thousand Soviet troops stationed in Cuba, had been untrue. The number is incorrect; the entire Soviet colony in Cuba only totals about 8000 people.

On the American Position and the Base at Guantanamo

The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister called the Cuban demand for the liquidation of the American military base at Guantanamo just. In the present situation, however, it would be unrealistic to coordinate the removal of Soviet training brigade with the liquidation of the American military base. The way to decide the problem lies in a relaxation of tensions around Cuba and regulation of direct American-Cuban dialog. In the frame of such a dialog, in Mr. Nikolayenko's opinion, it would be possible to reach a mutually acceptable solution to the problem. The Soviet initiative should create better conditions towards this end.

On the Results of Soviet-American Consultations

After consultations in Havana, Mr. Nikolayenko was invited to New York for consultations with American representatives. In his words, the Soviet side again expressed that it was essential for complimentary steps be taken to lessen tension around Cuba. The United States affirmed that they did not intend to take advantage of the removal of Soviet troops to threaten Cuban security. This was an important statement, Mr. Nikolayenko thought. He pointed to certain positive moves in the American position towards Cuba. In particular, the Americans have ceased to fly planes around Cuban territory and have ended intensive military manoeuvres around Cuba.

On Aid for Cuba and the De-Ideologization of Soviet-Cuban Relations

In Mr. Nikolayenko's words, the consultations discussed reforming Soviet-Cuban relations in military, political, and economic matters and how to make relations more mutually profitable for both sides. He remarked that in the past, Soviet subsidies to Havana, which Mr. Nikolayenko called excessive, were directed, from one side, to aid Cuba, but another side at putting "a thorn in the side of the U.S."

With regard to aid for Cuba, the Deputy Minister said that it will not end, even though the USSR now finds itself in a situation in which the country itself needs foreign aid. The Cubans understand that subsidies similar to those in the past are simply impossible for the Soviets to contribute. They know that now one cannot expect government grants. Work must be done on concrete ventures, with sovereign republics, and on a mutually profitable basis. Such work is already underway in the Cuban embassy in Moscow. This, according to Mr. Nikolayenko, is de-ideologization in practice.

Supreme Soviet

Preliminaries Begin; Session May Be Delayed

LD0210020991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Preliminary consultations have begun in Moscow between members of the parliaments of the sovereign republics in connection with preparations for the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its new composition.

[Correspondent Stepanyuk] It has not been ruled out that the first session of the new parliament might not open on 8 October, as previously decided, but later, in connection with the fact that not all the republics have determined their deputation within the renewed Supreme Soviet. Preparations for the session have, however, already begun. Today saw the first working meeting of the deputies who have arrived in Moscow in the familiar Hall of Sessions in the Kremlin, where the nameplates remain with the old names of what are now sovereign states. The initiative group is making known its proposals on the agenda for the session, the standing orders of the Supreme Soviet, and its structure. A special preparatory committee for the first session is being set up from the authorized representatives of the republics to work out an agenda and a list of the most urgent problems with which the new composition of parliament will have to deal.

[I. D. Laptev, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet] This parliament is becoming interrepublican, as are all the central bodies. Here lies the essence. It has to become the link between the parliamentarians and parliaments of the republics which are to cooperate among themselves within this vast space of ours, in the economic, legal, cultural, scientific, or any other sphere. In my view, the main task is to remove right away, immediately, all restrictions on the advance of economic reform, all restrictions, so to speak, on the progressive transformations in the economy which are already defined in legislation. There are always some snags, something conditional, something that requires further work in the laws. In other words, we need to open up a free range for the development of market relations.

Political & Social

Documentary on KGB Features Shebarshin Interview

LD3009145591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1845 GMT on 27 September in its 'Vzglyad' program carries a 69-minute documentary entitled "Not the KGB" [Ne KGB], the story of the PGU, First Chief Directorate of the USSR KGB, presented by Aleksandr Lyubimov. The program features interviews with Leonid Shebarshin, recently retired KGB deputy chairman, and unidentified First Directorate officers whose voices are distorted and faces obscured. The interviews alternate with historical references, still photos, film clips about the organization's past, and acted-out conversations concerning intelligence activities. Subliminal messages in English approximately 1/25th of a second in duration are also flashed throughout the program.

The documentary begins with Lyubimov being driven into the First Chief Directorate headquarters compound, where no journalist had ever been allowed before. Shebarshin's background is outlined: "Leonid Vladimirovich Shebarshin was first announced by TASS as head of the USSR foreign intelligence directorate on 28 February 1990. He was named the deputy chairman of KGB in PRAVDA on 15 March 1989. Born in 1935, graduate of MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of International Relations] in 1958, and, later, of a special educational establishment. Member of the CPSU from 1964 until its dissolution. Has been married for the past 35 years to his wife Nina; has two children and three grandchildren. Lives in a two-room apartment; has no dacha and no car. No savings, 10,000 rubles in debts. Hobbies: tennis and chess.

"Leonid Shebarshin joined the First Chief Directorate in the 1960's as a junior lieutenant investigative officer [operupolnomochennyy], systematically progressing through the stages of the service. Had several long postings in Asian coutries, was working the Americans—what was formerly called 'working the main enemy.' Leonid Shebarshin has long personal experience in the overseas agents' work. Until 1989 he was the deputy head of the information subdivision; from 1989—head of the Soviet foreign intelligence directorate."

Interviewed in his office, Shebarshin says: "The task of the intelligence services is not only collecting information—and I mean not only my own service but in general terms, as a state institution. Its task is also in using its own means to help solve questions of interest to the state; moreover, to solve them in such a way that the participation of our state would not be detectable in such actions, which are meant to prompt these solutions in ways that are beneficial to us. There are various methods for this: Beginning from an elementary rumor being spread by our man in a foreign capital. Suddenly, a result which is of benefit to us comes up, unexpected by those not in the know. These may be publications, or something else ... I shall not talk about this in more detail. Sometimes we are successful and sometimes not. We infiltrate the foreign special services, and intercept what is being sent here, what is being planned. This is complicated work, and we can never have absolute success here."

The video pans over various photographs in Shebarshin's office and some books—one of which, shown in closeup, is Andrew and Gordievskiy's book "KGB—The Inside Story."

At 1902 GMT a subliminal message in English flashes on the screen: "Thank you for being with us. Next contact in 2 minutes." At 1904 GMT a subliminal message in English reads: "To all intelligence officers of the world. Dear spies, the world has changed. The cold war is over. The best way to ensure peace and ... next contact in 10 minutes."

At 1908 GMT the program shows persons—presumably actors—making telephone calls dealing with KGB business. Their faces were not shown, but they could be seen lighting a cigarette, holding a telephone, etc. A man was shown on the telephone dictating details of the Soviet intelligence service since 1920 and its early operations against those who opposed Stalin. Video showed footage of Trotsky, Stalin, and the construction of the White Sea Canal. A woman's voice-over described the assassination of White Guard generals, Trotsky, NTS leaders, and Ukrainian nationalists.

A woman was shown talking by telephone to a man speaking in fluent Russian in an American accent. Presumably representing a Western expert, he said the Soviet intelligence service had been lucky because the idea of communism had attracted people in the West who did not know the reality of the Soviet Union.

Over wartime footage, the voice-over recounts intelligence successes against Hitler's Germany.

The documentary then switchs back to the interview with Shebarshin:

Lyubimov: "What do you regard as the finest achievements of our intelligence in recent years?"

Shebarshin: "The finest achievements of our service become manifest when we suffer some kind of failure, for then the fine achievements become public knowledge. The finest achievements of the intelligence service can only occur in one sphere—the acquisition of sources. That is what I mean. Certain fine achievements of the past have been the object of discussion for a long time. They have become public knowledge and gone into folklore a long time ago. As for the other fine achievements, I very much hope that they won't come out sooner than 50 years hence, when the achievements themselves will have receded into the past, and neither we nor—figuratively speaking—the victims or heroes of these achievements will be here. We have a principle on discovering only what's appropriate. One can find out a little more, but one must not find out things that would cause us major harm."

A man on the telephone is shown saying that Soviet intelligence acquired information in 1942 about work on the atom bomb at Los Alamos, and "for many years" top-secret information passed from the United States to the USSR. The Rosenbergs went to the electric chair for their part in the ring. The Krogers, "living in the USSR to this day," helped to maintain contact between the American atomic spies and the KGB. The "intellectual elite of intelligence—(Detskov), (Kvasnikov), and others"—worked on the Soviet side in the affair.

At 1914 GMT the video shows an English-language computer screen with the names Philby, Burgess, Maclean, Blunt, and Cairncross. A message in English flashes subliminally on the screen: "Stability is cooperation of all intelligence services. Spies, meet journalists and tell them all the secrets you know. The more secrets you reveal, the better service you give to mankind ... next contact in 10 minutes."

An unidentified man, described only in a passing as "an analyst who processes information" and shown in darkened silhouette and with his voice distorted, was interviewed about the First Chief Directorate's sources of information. He said some of its information came from open sources, but the "bulk"—about 90 percent—came from "foreign intelligence sources, our helpers." The information allowed conclusions "close to the truth" to be made about the policies of given states and events in the international community. Reports of a drastic nature needed to be checked against other information to guard against disinformation.

Over video of a spider's web, the voice-over says that a web of residents, illegals, and sources had covered the world to be the state's eyes and ears.

There were two further interviews with men with concealed faces and distorted voices. The first said that pay in the intelligence services was not very high, and motivation was provided by the desire to be involved in protecting state interests. The second said that the interests of the state were above personal interests.

The Cambridge spy ring was described in the voice-over as "one of the biggest achievements of Soviet intelligence."

The program then returns to the Shebarshin interview:

Lyubimov: "From the general human point of view, it seems to me that Oleg Gordievsky and Kim Philby can be equated."

Shebarshin: "People who have come over to our side are working for our fatherland. But these other people betray our fatherland. And that must no doubt be the criterion for citizens in any country. And that way many things in the world become clear. Kim Philby worked for our state, for you and me. Oleg Gordievsky betrayed us. They cannot in any sense be equated."

Lyubimov: "What I mean is that if you were sitting and talking to a British journalist...."

Shebarshin: "Then possibly I wouldn't talk to him, or else I'd talk to him differently. Or I'd say the same thing. In general, I think that a citizen of the country—a son of the fatherland—no doubt ought to recall more frequently the fatherland and his kith and kin, which the fatherland must care for. That is the criterion I apply in work and in life, my criterion for assessing people."

The video shows photographs of Gordievsky, Philby, and Blake. The voice-over says Blake helped to uncover the Berlin tunnel, and Blake said he had betrayed 400 British agents.

A man with a hidden face and camouflaged voice is then shown, refusing to answer a question about what he thought was the most difficult area of the service, "out of professional interests." He said money was not the main factor in recruiting sources. Best of all was when people cooperated out of conviction. He said that Blake and Philby were not exceptional in being inside political and state circles.

A subliminal message at 1924 GMT reads: "The less underground work you do, the better it is to the world. Get together ... next contact in 10 minutes."

The voice-over says that "illegals" have lived and worked abroad under false names. "Many continue to live and work there today." It is recalled that Rudolf Abel and Gordon Lonsdale were both arrested. Photographs of the two are shown.

In another phone call, the man speaking fluent Russian in an American accent says: "We are proud of our country, but this is not foisted on people." Countries needed to have stable policies, and then the intelligence services would feel secure and there would be no need for talk of "love for the homeland."

Returning to the Shebarshin interview, the video shows an array of telephones.

Lyubimov: "Does Directorate (?S of the academy) [?upravleniye S litseya] exist?"

Shebarshin: "You mean Directorate S?"

Lyubimov: "Does it exist in the PGU network?"

Shebarshin: "Yes, it does exist."

Lyubimov: "What does this directorate do?"

Shebarshin: "This directorate is involved in what we call illegal intelligence. A considerable proportion of our employees abroad are there as Soviet citizens, or employees of certain official institutions, or people unconnected with official institutions—they can be free artists, businessmen, or academics. But I won't give you the whole list: It is perfectly well-known to experts in the West. But there is also a more deeply concealed level of our work. Our employees, either native Russians or Lithuanians, suddenly pose as citizens of other states. They have the relevant documents. They speak the language of the country they are in or their country of origin as if it were their mother tongue. They live and work for us. At the same time they carry out activity useful for that state. The work is difficult. Training is very difficult. These are people of special strength of character and special abilities. Special strength of character. The training of each such employee of ours is costly."

"These people are in a special position. It is difficult for them to count on the official protection of our state. I would like to take this opportunity to send my best wishes to them and those who are now watching me, and to tell them that they are all right and we are all right. We will continue working for the benefit of our fatherland and keep our chins up."

The program then cuts to Lyubimov, his face in the shadows, who is speaking to someone on the phone in a darkened room about agents tried in the West for collaboration with Soviet intelligence. The other person on the phone is not identified or heard. While on the phone Lyubimov says: "Recently there have been umpteen trials in the West. For instance the case of Geoffrey Prior, a British code breaker, who passed on to us the codes. And then an American [name bleeped out] also worked for us. The most sensational case was that of the Norwegian diplomat Arne Treholt. He had been betrayed by Gennadiy Titov in Norway ... Say it again. ... In the West they are now telling all sorts of tales because they also need to bump up their budgets. That is why they ... have to feign innocence ... After all, they also need to earn their living, old man."

This is followed by an interview between Lyubimov and an unidentified man sitting with his back to the camera. The interview is set in the woods. The man speaks about what motivated him toward intelligence work. He says he became an operative by vocation—not because of money or perks.

The video then shows a building, the voice-over explaining: "This is Intelligence College. Future Abels and Lonsdales are learning the art of extracting secret information." Video shows the interior of various rooms, computer and telephone rooms.

This is followed by a factual report on Soviet-born agents who have been found working for Western intelligence. The voice-over gives the list of those whom the Soviets have lost the West. Among them are Arkadiy Shevchenko, UN official; Sheymov, KGB code-breaker; Oleg Gordiyevskiy, PGU colonel; Ogorodnik, Foreign Ministry official; Penkovskiy and Filatov, Intelligence Directorate officiers. Video shows various photographs and then silent tape of Shevchenko. Over video of street life in a non-Soviet city, Lyubimov says that turncoats exist everywhere, and their main function is to find sources and codes.

Lyubimov then interviews a man whose face is hidden and voice camouflaged, asking: "Do you have your own people among the NATO leadership?"

The man says: "The question is rather complex. In fact, it is a little outside my competence. And I would not like to give any direct answer to this question. But as far as information work is concerned, I can say that we more or less know the tendencies currently existing in that bloc or around it."

Lyubimov: "Are you personally acquainted with the source?"

Man: "No, I do not know him, of course."

Lyubimov: "But do you have any ideas as to who he is?"

Man: "You know, our system of work and communications that we receive is built in such a way that it rules out 100 percent any possibility of our direct contact with a source."

Lyubimov: "So if you go over to the CIA's side, you will not be able to inflict any damage, right?"

Man: "Well, that is not quite right. After all, the job of an agent is such that he has to know secrets in any case. Therefore, some damage can be inflicted. But as far as direct contact with sources are concerned, we have worked out a certain preventive system currently in operation, which naturally prevents too many people from getting to know a source.

Lyubimov: "How do you meet your agents?"

Man: "Generally speaking, under cover. However, I do not want to reveal any of our concrete methods, since my comrades are now using them abroad and [word indistinct] for their safety. Therefore I would not want to tell you about it."

At 1934 GMT a subliminal English message reads: "At big secret services' conferences we are going to convene in Washington D.C. and Moscow ... next contact in 10 minutes."

Lyubimov is again shown in the shadows speaking on the phone, talking about the function of double agents—circulation of disinformation. This serves as an interlude before the interview with Shebarshin continues.

Shebarshin: "Our relations with foreign intelligence services are confidential. They are based on trust. I do not want to say anything at all—I do not wish to confirm or deny that we have contacts [word indistinct]. I believe it would be quite wrong for me now to start speaking about this without having beforehand consulted our colleagues, to make unilateral statements on what are in fact bilateral relations. As far as opportunities for cooperation, or to be more exact interaction—let us not mention cooperation here—such opportunities as well as the need for interaction with the central intelligence directorates do exist, specifically in a number of spheres such as international terrorism, smuggling, and drug trafficking. On this subject we have something to say to our American counterparts. Yes, that need does exist. I see no fundamental obstacles for our interaction here. I think that in this respect relations will become established and will be developed. But naturally we will be acting here primarily in the iterests of our state."

Over video showing the Lubyanka building, photographs, Kryuchkov going through an empty conference hall, and then shooting lessons, the voice-over says the KGB has been treating "with nervousness" the questions of its involvement in international terrorism. The events surrounding the death of Afghan President Amin in 1979 are recalled in some detail. Kryuchkov was in charge at that time. So, does the Soviet Union train international terrorists?

Lyubimov says: "There is a great deal of evidence and incidents testifying to the fact that the KGB has links with major terrorists and major terrorist acts—for instance, the West Berlin discotheque [bombing]; and as General Kalugin claimed, the assassination of the Bulgarian writer in London."

Shebarshin: "I have been chief of the First Chief Directorate since the start of 1989, a little over two and a half years, and naturally I am much more familiar with the activities of our service over these two and a half years than any other employee in the Directorate or the KGB. I can therefore take full responsibility for what I am saying. I can tell you that during my tenure here in this office, the First Chief Directorate has not had the slightest connection with terrorist activities or drug smuggling. We keep an eye on this area with the aim of uncovering these activities and putting a stop to them. Nor has it had the slightest connection with arms running. Let alone ... it has now become popular to accuse the First Chief Directorate of taking part in some kind of operations involving CPSU gold, of helping the CPSU to set up some kind of companies and channels. I find this accusation offensive and unjustified, and I don't know how to reply to it. These are utterly fantastic conjectures. I can rebut them in the only way available to me; I can tell you categorically that the PGU does not engage in these things."

A man shown in silhouette and with his voice distorted then says that a PGU man has to be honest and decent as well as clever.

The program returns to the interview:

Shebarshin: "Quite a lot has to be changed in the intelligence service, but I wouldn't like these changes to be linked to the August events. The events have spurred and demonstrated the need for a completely fundamental reconstruction—and I would say dismantling—of the existing structures of the KGB. They took shape and were built up in a completely different era, a qualitatively different era. They were based on a completely different economic footing. And they were designed for tasks that to a great extent have lost their significance now. So I think in- depth reform is necessary—under no circumstances a cosmetic reform or simply reshuffling the structural blocks and retaining the links between them. For the intelligence service, this must mean detachment from the KGB. Every cloud has a silver lining: As a result of the coup, a situation has arisen in which reforms and changes can be carried out not on an evolutionary basis, which is a very long and arduous route, but as rapidly as possible."

The documentary cuts to a telephone conversation between a woman and the man speaking in Russian with an American accent. Asked by her what he thought of reform in the KGB, he said that drastic change in the security services was a dangerous thing. At the end of the apparent interview, the woman says: "Thank you, sir. We hope to hear from you again sometime."

Following shots of KGB headquarters in Moscow's Dzerzhinskiy Square, there is more of the Shebarshin interview:

Lyubimov: "It is a well-known fact that quite substantial elements of the First Chief Directorate operate inside the Soviet Union collecting information. Don't you think it's a rather ineffective way of gathering information when the the First Directorate in Magadan, say, is on the line to you overloading all the cipher and communications channels carrying Margaret Thatcher's stand on some issue, for instance?"

Shebarshin: "Well, that's probably not the way it's done. It's not the way it's done. We sometimes get very, very interesting information locally. And I even accept that it could be obtained in a place like Magadan, if some well-informed foreigner who has direct access to a particular problem has been there. And if an intelligent person has been talking to him, and particularly if some sort of relationship has arisen, then good information can be obtained. It can be obtained anywhere.

"As far as overloading cipher communications channels is concerned, that's not a problem with modern equipment. It was doubtless a problem in the past when ciphering was done by hand and passed on using a cipher key. Now no one has that sort of problem. But the main task of our comrades who work with foreigners on our own territory is not so much to obtain information. In the majority of cases information like this is oblique. But the idea is to acquire sources. People come for temporary stays in our country, then they leave permanently."

At 1944 GMT a subliminal message reads: "Please contact us in Moscow. Our fax number is 095 217 98 69."

A man in silhouette with a distorted voice agrees that the intelligence service was not immune to intrigues, like everywhere else.

Over video of buildings at the PGU complex, the voice-over says the "Yu.V. Andropov" Red Banner Institute had four faculties, one for retraining cadre personnel switching to the intelligence service from other departments, and three for recruits.

Shebarshin says: "We start studying people from a distance long before we make them an offer. But this an innocent study. We just look at them from a distance first of all. We look at their personal qualities, decency, openness to innovation, academic abilities, relations with their colleagues. That's if we intend to take someone from a civilian institution. We then establish contact with him. We explain what we want from him. And we continue to keep an eye on him for some time."

A man apparently attending a course at the PGU complex—seen from the back and with his voice distorted—says the main thing was not the glory, but the work itself. He said that there may be common interests with other intelligence services, but he doubted he would find himself unemployed.

The video then shows the camera team packing up their equipment and leaving the PGU center. The voice-over says the world is not ideal, and national security had to be protected. As the closing credits roll, a recording of two men speaking English with Russian accents is heard. The closing sequence shows a "drop" under way. One of the men in the recorded conversation is heard to say in English: "Now listen, Alex of 'Vzglyad' was a KGB resident in Europe for years."

At 1954 GMT the final subliminal message immediately following the credits read: "We should meet not under the tables trying to drink down each other but at the tables of negotiations. Spies of the world, unite—watch us for the next contact..."

Changes in Depoliticized KGB Examined

PM0210084191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by A. Ostalskiy: "Intelligence Parts Company With Political KGB. 'House of Secrets' in Era of Change"]

[Text] I had seen this huge building many times from the Moscow Beltway, but I had just glanced at it indifferently. I thought it was yet another closed scientific research institute or something of that kind. But it turns out that, just alongside the city, it is the headquarters of Soviet political intelligence—the famous KGB First Chief Directorate. "It's just half an hour on foot to the nearest vodka store"—that is the local, "intelligence-world" folklore.

It is surrounded by a sturdy double fence equipped with a signaling system and TV cameras to seemingly track your every step. There is an absurd sign by the door—"Scientific Research Center." (What, apart from burning curiosity, can this kind of "camouflage" prompt?) Immediately you feel disappointed, that things are somehow wrong and trivial. Your preconceptions from spy films and novels are let down. Unfortunately, when I entered the courtyard of the "lair," I saw nothing particularly secret or sinister.

In the courtyard stands a huge stone bust of Lenin, which can in no way be termed a work of art... It's a breath of another era, when the CPSU Central Committee International Department built its guest house, which Andropov later used his influence to "commandeer" for intelligence work. Before you reach the gates there is the "in-house" food and goods store, with long lines in both

sections—as is the case throughout the country (although there are at least things to stand in line for here). Ordinary-looking people are walking across the courtyard. You often come across women with shopping bags, looking nothing like intelligence officers. But you also see people who do look very like agents—a familiar face will pass, then another... "It's probably not quite right for me to be seeing them here," you think. But then you think: "What's the difference—all these conspiracies and codes have degenerated into empty formalities which nobody seems to take seriously any more." In many Soviet institutions—APN, TASS, and the Foreign Ministry—even secretaries know about the real job done by their "colleagues." Even at IZVESTIYA the girls in the press office are not averse to gossiping about the exploits of their favorite intelligence officers...

According to Western press figures, the First Chief Directorate employs more than 12,000 people. (The service is small compared with the KGB's total of 400,000 cadre staffers). Our spending on intelligence, according to its leaders, cannot compare with U.S. spending on the CIA (around $30 billion a year), but it is still large enough for the state—in its current lamentable condition—to be thinking of cutting appropriations.

The First Chief Directorate's main means and method of intelligence-gathering abroad has always been and continues to be the recruitment of agents—on an "ideological" basis or simply "for money." But even agents, it seems, may be good or bad, clever or not very clever.

Intelligence may be a specific area, but it is still part of society and cannot escape its shortcomings. "We have just as many idiots as the rest of the Union, they're just more noticeable," the deputy chief of the First Chief Directorate—a general by the name of Vyacheslav Ivanovich (he asked for his surname to be withheld)—told me.

The secret department is in shock after the famous August events. The highly regarded General Leonid Shebarshin ("the first real professional to head the First Chief Directorate in decades," his colleagues said) resigned. So my interlocutor here today was virtually "acting head."

He was on leave when he heard about the events. Returning to work the same day, he learned from Shebarshin the details of Kryuchkov's speech to collegium members. For some reason the speech ended with the strange phrase: "We need to save the harvest."

Shebarshin ordered the text of the law on the state of emergency to be reproduced and distributed to subunit chiefs—this made it clear that the coup was illegal. Shebarshin then apparently contacted Kryuchkov and attempted to "appeal to his good sense." No instructions were issued to station chiefs in connection with the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]—absolutely none. Only the following telegrams were sent: "We are sending you the SCSE resolution." There was then a colon and the text of the resolution. And not even the usual "be guided by the above, take measures." The station chiefs took the hint and not a single one of them declared support for the coup. The overwhelming majority sent in honest and objective information to the effect that the whole world, with certain well-known exceptions, was entirely negative about the SCSE's activities. Thus, Vyacheslav Ivanovich believes, the intelligence service as a whole came through this ordeal with merit. And yet the mood in the service is somber. Ahead is a vague unknown, and unpleasant prospects can be glimpsed through the haze—a future wreathed in mist, where the only things visible are inevitable personnel cuts and a sharp reduction in foreign stations. Intelligence officers' hearts are heavy...

And society is criticizing them and the entire KGB more often and more vocally.

In conversation with me a serving political intelligence officer, who asked for his name to be withheld, also sharply criticized the state of affairs in his department. As he put it, influence, nepotism, and a complacent, cynical attitude to duty are rife in the intelligence world. "All this has built up over the years—as a result of 'party and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] appeals' and the profanation of the essence of intelligence work, whereby we mainly served party interests and, to please our bosses, passed on falsified and prejudiced information under the slogan: 'Pin everything on the Americans and it'll all be OK.' That's not intelligence, it's self-deception," he said angrily.

Our conversation with Vyacheslav Ivanovich centered on a simple idea—intelligence is a really necessary tool of any state's policy, including even the most democratic. The question of what intelligence work in the new Union should be like, how it should be controlled, and by whom is another matter. All these issues need to be urgently resolved.

"The accusations against the KGB are 99 percent justified," Vyacheslav Ivanovich said. "We need a clear-out, but we must be careful not to throw the baby out with the bathwater."

I am prepared to agree with him, but nonetheless I would like to return to the nub of the problem—it is impossible to respect your intelligence service if it is part and parcel of the secret police and a political investigation network. These things do not happen in any normal state—only in Hitler's Germany, Stalin's USSR, and our country now, at the end of the 20th century. And although it is a long time since "intelligence officers" were sent on an "important government mission" to secretly murder some Soviet ambassador (as happened under Beria) or some prominent dissident (as even happened under Khrushchev), the service is seen even now both by our own citizens and by foreigners primarily as the foreign arm of a repressive apparatus. Vyacheslav Ivanovich believes that it is mainly a question of the "stupidity" of certain staffers, of untalented people who have failed to

master their complex profession and therefore try to compensate for it by rummaging around in their fellow citizens' "dirty laundry." "Even Andropov invariably called for us not to be peering through keyholes or counting up empty bottles," the general said. But he too agreed that both of these things continue to happen. He even ultimately agreed that the very system created by the CPSU requires police methods. "Look, our service was tasked with safeguarding the security of Soviet institutions abroad. Who gave us that mission? The 'authorities'—that is, the CPSU Central Committee. Anything more depended on each individual's degree of probity. Believe me, no real intelligence officer could have enjoyed it..."

But, nonetheless, how can our state acquire a civilized, modern, and effective intelligence service which the country's citizens would respect rather than fear?

"Clearly, it needs to be hived off into an organization separate from counterintelligence. In my view, we need to set up an organ to coordinate all intelligence activity—both ours, the GRU's (military intelligence), and that of other services. Such an organ would be headed by the USSR president's national security adviser. As for its tasks, our 'end product' should be brought closer into line with the actual requirements of society, we should work to obtain genuine, vitally important economic, scientific, technical, and political secrets for our country. But we should not try to obtain opinions or, God preserve us, responses [otkliky]. We've had enough of looking for senseless responses to the latest 'brilliant' initiative from our latest leader! This corrupted people, creating the illusion that this kind of activity was useful. Different republics and different departments could order up various kinds of information from us and, clearly, cover our expenses."

[Ostalskiy] But this is tantamount to deception and theft, isn't it?

[Vyacheslav Ivanovich] Yes, intelligence work and the Ten Commandments don't go together, you know... But, of course, there is a definite civilized framework.

[Ostalskiy] An American specialist told me that even in the most democratic state the special services create problems—you need to keep a close eye on them. In the United States, as he put it, five or six people in Congress have complete access to everything so as to monitor the activity of the CIA, which, like any intelligence service, tries to avoid control.

[Vyacheslav Ivanovich] Yes, parliamentary controls are needed. But we just need guarantees that secrets will not filter through to the press. And we need a new law on the intelligence service which would strictly regulate all of our activity in accordance with the canons of a rule-of-law state.

[Ostalskiy] What about "cover stories"? We at IZVESTIYA, for instance, don't want to provide cover stories for "incompatible activity." Nor does the TV, in my view. And now that new foreign minister is saying the same thing—that the Foreign Ministry doesn't want to provide "cover" either...

(Vyacheslav Ivanovich himself provided me with "ammunition" against his own department: Among the documents he gave me was a current instruction in the United States banning U.S. intelligence from contacting journalists or using news organs for cover purposes—with the exception of cases when journalists voluntarily and freely want to pass on some piece of information to their intelligence service, and those rare cases when it is a question of some kind of emergency, such as a threatened act of terrorism, for instance).

[Vyacheslav Ivanovich] Yes, this is a complex question. The CIA has a special cover department. The U.S. President's Executive Order No. 12333 of 4 December 1981, incidentally, obliges all leaders of government departments and agencies and state institutions to give every possible assistance to the intelligence service and to "give due attention to requests from the director of central intelligence for appropriate support for the intelligence community's activities." This applies to the provision of cover. All countries—almost without exception—use their embassies as their main cover. Sometimes the number of CIA staffers exceeded the number of "proper" diplomats at U.S. missions—we haven't gone that far. But you can't get by without embassies—Boris Pankin's words have been misinterpreted, in my view.

[Ostalskiy] Still, doesn't it strike you that foreign stations are overstaffed? It seems to me that to a considerable extent this is a result of the "total espionage," which, according to my information, you were forced to conduct. Raking in all kinds of information at once—the more the better—means that quantity rather than quality is the governing principle.

[Vyacheslav Ivanovich] We even tell the following story: "If a Soviet agent has a choice between listening to the weather forecast at 1700 or stealing it from a safe at 1645, he'll prefer to steal it..." But, you know, this was all simple and cynical—our main client was the Central Committee's International Department. And they'd be happy with any piece of gossip. Knowing what one group in South Yemen was saying about another was something they reveled in. And many people still have that habit. You have to say to some people: "Look, why are you bringing me this? Who needs this information? Who's the consumer?" We have to learn to visualize specific consumers.

[Ostalskiy] And you probably have to learn to be a normal, deideologized, civilized intelligence service.

[Vyacheslav Ivanovich] Yes, but it would nonetheless be annoying to cast aside the professionalism and experience which has been built up. Our professionals are marvelous, it would be a pity if they weren't used. God forbid that we should get involved again in serving somebody's political views or party convictions, or in proving that somebody is politically right or wrong.

Investigation Panel Member on KGB Restructuring

PM0210090591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Single Edition p 6

[TASS report: "What the KGB Should Be Like"]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Sep—The State Commission for Investigating the Activity of the State Security Organs has formulated proposals for priority measures to radically reorganize the USSR KGB. The document notes that "during the process of forming new forms of statehood now under way in the country, it would be impermissible for the state security organs to be disorganized and lose their effectiveness on account of the growing tension in sociopolitical processes. Therefore the abolition of USSR KGB organs is not on the agenda; on the contrary, the issue is that of their gradual reorganization with the aim of creating a rational system of state security organs that respond to the interests of the republics and the Union as a whole."

Undoubtedly, the perestroyka of an organ like the KGB—like any special services—is linked to the future of the country's national-state structure, commission member Academician Yuriy Ryzhkov, commenting on this document, told a TASS correspondent today. The nature of the reorganization depends on the nature of the Union treaty and who will participate in it. A doctrine for the existence of a future community of sovereign states must be formulated, and from this should stem an understanding of the questions of this community's security. But in view of the fact that all this has not yet been determined, it is difficult to determine the size, functions, and even the orientation of the special services, which in principle exist in all civilized states and which, as I understand, should be formed on the basis of existing KGB services. However, I stress—and our document clearly states this—we should not allow the concentration of functions within one department that exists in the present KGB. It must be broken down, and as a matter of priority its shameful components such as the services dealing with political investigations and the comprehensive surveillance of dissidents must be dismembered and abolished.

Finally, the commission's overall opinion is that the perestroyka of the state security organs or the revival of certain services necssary in a civilized community should be entirely based only on the members of the future Union delegating powers and functions to the reorganized state security organs.

KGB Chief Analyst on Surveillance of Officials

PM0110113591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 p 1

[RIA report: "KGB: Work Unlawful"]

[Text] "The KGB organs had total control over all aspects of society's life," an RIA correspondent was told by Vladimir Rubanov, chief of the USSR KGB analytic directorate. He said that the commission for the investigation of the USSR KGB's participation in the state coup is uncovering cases of the tapping of the telephone conversations of people's deputies of all levels, the surveillance of state and public figures, and political vetting. State policy, Rubanov noted, was supplanted by the personal ambitions and decrees of the USSR KGB chairman, which led to violations not only of legal norms but even of the KGB's secret internal instructions. He also reported that information has been discovered on preparation for the internment of the leaders of the democratic movement. "But many documents incriminating the organizers of the putsch were destroyed precisely while the monument to Dzerzhinskiy was being dismantled," Rubanov noted.

Barannikov Interviewed on Crime Prevention Tasks

PM0210093091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[Interview with USSR Internal Affairs Minister V.P. Barannikov by Viktor Kozhemyako—date and place not given; first paragraph is Kozhemyako introduction: "Will the Criminals Beat Us Or Will We Beat Them? Three Questions for Viktor Barannikov"]

[Text] Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov is the new USSR internal affairs minister. Over the last 30 years he has risen from being precinct inspector of a rayon militia department to leader of the Russian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. He took a principled stand during the events of August as one of those who organized the defense of the "White House" and the detention of the putschists. Among his colleagues he enjoys tremendous respect as a professional of the highest caliber.

[Kozhemyako] What can you tell us about the current crime situation in the country?

[Barannikov] It is very complicated. Crime is continuing to grow, unfortunately. More than 2 million crimes were committed in the first eight months of this year alone. Negative processes continue to prevail in the economy, and the scale of organized crime is particularly alarming. Since the start of the year more than 600 organized groups have been eliminated. Some 64,000 firearms, 19 million units of ammunition, and about 45 tonnes of explosives have been confiscated from bandits. The soil of interethnic conflicts is spawning ever more widespread terrorism. A total of 388 people have been killed and more than 1,000 wounded in clashes of this sort.

You will agree that the figures speak for themselves. Needless to say, this rise in the crime rate can only be halted by a radical improvement of economic affairs and sociopolitical relations. But much depends on us, the militia. If we operate more efficiently, more as a team, and in a more professional way, we will get results. Among militiamen there are plenty of real dedicated and heroic men who sometimes run deadly risks without a

thought for themselves. However, the organization of internal affairs organs' activity is in need of fundamental reform.

[Kozhemyako] Where did you start when you began working at the ministry and what do you see as your most important task?

[Barannikov] Here it is possible to outline certain areas which seem to me to be priorities. First, the actual ministry apparatus. In my view it has gotten excessively large, and must be cut back drastically. But not, let me note, by shedding professionals: They need not fear dismissal. On the contrary, a number of extremely important subunits and new organizational structures will be thoroughly strengthened by the best professional cadres and modern technology as well.

The second issue is relations with republic organs. You can see for yourself that nowadays it is impossible to build these relations in the way we used to. This is why during the very first days of my work here we held a meeting with the internal affairs ministers of all 15 republics in order to jointly determine how most effectively to use our combined efforts in the struggle against crime. We came to an agreement: Each minister will consider and submit his proposals about things that are to be delegated to the center and things that are to be left to the republics. We will probably have an overall coordinating and forecasting role. Crime knows no borders, and therefore well-organized cooperation between those fighting it is a matter of extreme urgency. Republic internal affairs organs will be something like clients of the Union ministry.

I think the MVD should exclude any sort of party activity both inside and outside it. In my view law enforcement organs can have only one God—the law. The use of internal affairs workers and internal troops in interethnic conflicts must be stopped. It is the politicians' job to settle these. And this matter is urgent: The people are tired of it. And you won't get anywhere in the current situation by using the resources of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], which has had inappropriate functions foisted on it.

What else concerns me? Recently many valued workers have been leaving the internal affairs organs because of low pay, poor housing and amenities, and inadequate social protection. They become private detectives or join security cooperatives, for example. Therefore we must improve our people's living conditions. Besides a sizable pay raise and an increase in ration provision, it is intended to set up our own construction industry within the ministry structure. A man in a militia uniform who risks his life every day—I am not exaggerating—should have a normal and human home life.

[Kozhemyako] And do you believe that you will ultimately succeed in cracking crime?

[Barannikov] This is not a task that can be achieved in a single generation, of course. But we are obliged to do everything we can, everything that lies in our power. We must, as they say, roll our sleeves up and get down to work.

Bolshevik Platform Moving Toward New Party

PM0110095991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 p 2

[Article by R. Bayrashev under the general heading: "You Cannot Yoke Our People to Capitalism..."]

[Text] On 25 August, when the new sociopolitical alignment of forces was already clear and many "party card holders" had rushed to disown the CPSU with penitent speeches, members of the Bolshevik Platform issued a statement in which they proclaimed themselves the heirs and rightful successors of the CPSU's Leninist course. They began their activity in the new conditions, as is well known, with a routine "purge" of party ranks. They expelled from the CPSU General Secretary M. Gorbachev, Leningrad Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] First Secretary B. Gidaspov, and a number of other "renegades and double-dealers" with the formula "for betraying the cause of Lenin and the October Revolution, for betraying the international workers and Communist movement, and for the collapse of the USSR..." Having gotten rid of the "ballast," the supporters of the Bolshevik Platform got down to the heavy work—preparing and holding the constituent congress of a new-type party, the name of which will be decided by the congress itself.

It is perhaps harder for the current generation of Bolsheviks to operate than for their predecessors. At least at the beginning of the century the words "socialism" and "communism" did not cause an allergic reaction in those around. Certainly things were easier materially speaking: Either the German Social Democrats would "cough up" the cash, or something would turn up via the Second International. There were also national sponsors like Morozov, the industrialist. Members of the Bolshevik Platform are fighting on pure enthusiasm. But some things are turning up. A minimum program has already been formulated and has begun to be put into effect: Grassroots components have been set up in all regions of what was the Union (in the Baltic and Moldova—on a semilegal basis). Money is being collected for the future party. The first editions of a Bolshevik newspaper are being prepared for publication. Voices opposing the nationalization of CPSU property can be heard more and more loudly. There is also a maximum program favoring the creation of a new party (with the proposed name All-Union Communist Party of Bolshevik Leninists) and bringing the struggle against those restoring capitalism to a victorious conclusion.

I want to tell those who think these plans amusing and only capable of satisfying the ambitions of two or three dozen pensioners who have lost their marbles: The supporters of the Bolshevik Platform number several thousand people today, far more, according to a report

from a leader of the Bolshevik Platform, 28-year old A. Lapin (who, incidentally, joined the CPSU the day of the coup, 19 August)...

Last Sunday we telephoned N.A. Andreyeva, chairman of the Bolshevik Platform's organizational committee and head of the all-Union society, "Unity—for Leninism and Communist Ideals," and asked her to answer a few questions.

[Bayrashev] Nina Aleksandrovna, do the events taking place in our country today mark the logical decline of Marxist-Leninist ideology or the temporary retreat of socialism?

[Andreyeva] I think that we are merely witnessing the beginning of a counterrevolutionary drama. The developing chaos and anarchy will give rise to a regime based on a "firm hand"—probably a pro-fascist regime. But history shows us that a new system that has been victorious in revolution has never disappeared without trace. The internal processes of bringing capitalism to socialist relations will produce a different alignment of forces. So, "evening is not yet nigh..."

[Bayrashev] On what do you base your optimism?

[Andreyeva] A new type of Soviet person has developed in the 73 years of Soviet power, a person who is the main productive force in a socialist society. He is a person who has lived in conditions where he has a guaranteed right to labor, housing, education, and public health... And it is difficult to shackle him to the yoke of capitalist relations.

Media & Journalism

PRAVDA Editor Wants 'Truly Democratic' Paper

LD0110134891 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Interview with PRAVDA editor in chief G.M. Seleznev by correspondent B. Asylbekov at PRAVDA office in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Asylbekov] Until recently, PRAVDA was considered the number one newspaper. The critical remarks expressed on its pages were immediately taken on board with a view to implemention. One of the country's oldest publications, it is today undergoing a difficult period of emergence. That is not a slip of the tongue. I say emergence because, after all, following the renowned events of August, the paper was even temporarily closed down.

[Seleznev] I, for example, have no grounds for saying today that our paper will die, as many people are saying in publications today. I am convinced that PRAVDA will survive, though of course it is now in a difficult financial situation. But, at the same time, I think it would be wrong to bury a paper that is to mark its 80th anniversary next year. It is the oldest paper of Russia and the Soviet Union. And judging from the reactions of our readers to the closure of PRAVDA, we sensed that forces, organizations, and sponsors will be found to help us to survive financially. There are a great number of very interesting journalists with good training. We are considering how to recruit young journalists.

[Asylbekov] Tell me, please, was your appointment to the post of editor in chief the choice of the work force or prompted from outside?

[Seleznev] Well, I don't know. [laughs] It is unlikely to have been prompted from outside, because when the paper was closed we heard no prompting whatsoever from anyone. It was the decision of the journalists' organization to hold a vote for the editor in chief and to make the journalists' organization itself the founder of the paper, and everyone acted here without being prompted. We have preserved the name of PRAVDA, as the oldest paper, and now it is not a case of the name but rather of what kind of newspaper it is to be. We want it to be a truly democratic, modern paper with its own view on each issue; a paper that, so to speak, kowtows to no one; a paper with its own stance; a paper that is keenly opposed to any kind of lawlessness—we are witnessing a great many cases of lawlessness today; and a paper that defends the interests of our readers.

[Asylbekov] For many years PRAVDA was the obedient mouthpiece of the CPSU Central Committee. Evidently the new era of free journalism, which we need so badly today, is also beginning for this publication. [video shows Asylbekov outside PRAVDA building and then speaking to Seleznev in latter's office]

IZVESTIYA Seeks Reactions to Changed Format

PM0110142991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Editorial message: "To Readers"]

[Text] What you have in front of you is, in a certain sense, an experimental edition of our newspaper. Normally we publish it on 6-8 pages, on this occasion there are 12 pages. We would like for the change in the number of pages to also affect the quality. Subscription is currently under way. Just like our colleagues elsewhere, we are thinking about what IZVESTIYA should be like next year. This edition is a partial answer to this question, because as from 1992 we intend to publish once a week this type of a slightly "more bulky," 12-page edition of the newspaper.

It will be up to you, the readers, to judge whether the experiment has been successful or not. That also goes for the newspaper as a whole. Incidentally, in many of your letters to the editorial office you keep asking what type of newspaper IZVESTIYA is at the moment as it has no outside founder and the entire responsibility for everything rests with the journalist collective. A section of the readership is unable altogether to accept the changes

which have taken place here, they disagree with the reregistration of the newspaper, they doubt that it will be able to stand on its own feet, and they express all sorts of misgivings. So that it is necessary once again to explain our position.

But first, let us cite one of our readers. Pavel Kuskov from Karaganda writes: "I loathe the putchists. Not because they staged a coup. But for the sole reason that they have forced my favorite and most respected newspaper to change its title, to change its image and its status. I do not welcome and do not recognize the new status of your newspaper. In my opinion there are plenty of 'independent,' featureless newspapers in our country. Rather than 'independent,' IZVESTIYA should be the official newspaper of the Soviets."

The reader, to give him his due, goes to the root of the matter. It is indeed true that we do not want to be an "official" newspaper in the old, orthodox sense of the word—that is, to depend (politically, organizationally, or economically) on the will of a founder, no matter what authoritative organization he might represent; we do not want to act as a "mouthpiece"—that is, to be effectively deprived of the possibility of objectively evaluating the activities of state structures; we do not want to feel obliged to toe the line, so to speak, of the powers that be, no matter what views—democratic or conservative—prevail among them.

What we cannot agree with is the reader's attempt to draw a parallel between the "independence" and "featurelessness" of newspapers, as if the latter was a consequence of the former. No way! Can it be asserted, perhaps, that the majority of newspapers today, having acquired greater freedom, do not have their own identity, their own readership, and their own position? After all, as has been stated and written more than once, we ourselves also continue to publish a newspaper which is the direct heir and rightful successor of the former IZVESTIYA. And if you agree with the readers, and there are many of them, who claim that there is no such thing as an absolutely independent publication, then we would like to be dependent on the best IZVESTIYA traditions, on the principles of freedom of expression, human rights, civilized forms of economic development, and high spirituality and culture. We would like, just like in the past, to be a newspaper geared largely to our intelligentsia, although it goes without saying that we do not intend to artificially limit the circle of our readers.

At the same time we have no intention of losing what was valuable in the previous, "official" status of IZVESTIYA, and we will seek to ensure that people continue to view us—both in our country and the world—as a newspaper close to parliamentary and government circles. IZVESTIYA is not refusing either, as some readers wrongly assume, to publish laws, government regulations, and other official materials. So, at the request of the USSR Supreme Soviet our newspaper published, as is known, the full stenographic record of the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It is another matter that under current conditions we are unable to guarantee that we will publish all official materials, or pronouncements by leading statesmen, for example—which is also worrying readers. We simply do not have enough newspaper space for this. However, we will most definitely publish official materials of fundamental importance concerning the vital interests of millions of people.

One final point. In a number of letters and reports from our correspondents at local level, citing in particular the opinion of Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter] officials, we are being told that it is necessary at present, during the subscription period, to publish some kind of extensive program of our newspaper. It seems to us that this is not necessary. You will agree that this is a time for action rather than declarations. We see our task in publishing a newspaper which will reflect life honestly and objectively. The rest is up to the readers.

Demise of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS Viewed

PM0210082691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by V. Belyanov, leader of former IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS journalists' collective: "Death of a Journal: Who Killed It"]

[Text] The August issue of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS turned out to be its last. It has been forced to stop publication. Subscribers will not receive the remaining issues, and those who managed to sign up for 1992 will have to surrender the receipts for their subscriptions.

As we know IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS was published between 1919 and 1929. From January 1989 it began to be published again under the leadership of an editorial council which M.S. Gorbachev headed (until the 28th CPSU Congress), followed by V.A. Ivashko. Some 32 issues of the journal appeared, a sum total of more than 600 printed pages. IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS regularly and objectively reported on the activities and decisions of the highest organs of the CPSU, and acquainted readers with thousands of its members' biographies. The journal's archival publications brought it particular fame. Among them are hitherto unknown documents of V.I. Lenin, letters and articles by N.I. Bukharin, L.D. Trotskiy, L.B. Kamenev, G.Ye. Zinovyev, N.K. Krupskaya, M.I. Ulyanova, I.V. Stalin, V.M. Molotov, G.K. Zhukov, M.N. Tukhachevskiy, A.M. Gorkiy, A.A. Fadeyev, A.A. Tarkovskiy, N.D. Kondratyev, A.V. Chayanov, A.D. Sakharov, and many other famous actors in the homeland's history.

But what happened after 23 August when the CPSU Central Committee's premises were sealed, including those housing the journal's editorial office?

The journalists' collective which worked on IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS tried to safeguard the cause which was dear to them. At first they thought of publishing the journal

autonomously as an archival publication, but a very close analysis demonstrated that this would be impracticable both from the financial point of view and, what is important, without the party archives, which have come under the control of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers Committee for Archives.

It was natural to turn to this committee's leaders. It has to be said that its chairman R.G. Pikhoya rated highly the archival department of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS, reacted with great interest to the idea of publishing the journal jointly under the title ARKHIV POLITICHESKOY ISTORII [ARCHIVE OF POLITICAL HISTORY], proposed that the committee (together with the journal's labor collective) become one of the new publication's founders, and took on itself the trouble of getting it registered. As early as 5 September the necessary documents had been sent to the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Information. Deputy Minister M.A. Fedotov also supported the idea of the new joint publication. The journalists set about preparing the next issues.

However, the business of registration came to a standstill in spite of the actions of R.G. Pikhoya, who was nevertheless forced on 20 September to report that his committee had been recommended not to become the new journal's founder. It is not known with any certainty who made this recommendation. You can only suppose that the politicians (and in this case it is better to call them political intriguers) held sway over the professionals.

This decision finally led to the journal ceasing publication.

It remains for us to bid farewell to the journal's many readers and admirers, and to thank them for their attention and kind letters, and to share with them our grief over the loss of one remarkable manifestation of Soviet culture, as well as of a unique and highly skilled journalists' collective, whose members are now forced to seek alternative employment. They will, of course, find it, but it is unfortunate that the cause will suffer.

TASS Reviews 2 Oct Central Press

LD0210073691 Moscow TASS in English 0534 GMT 2 Oct 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—Today's newspapers focus on a meeting of leaders of sovereign republics in Kazakhstan's capital Alma Ata. The meeting began on Tuesday, and it is attended by representatives from 12 sovereign republics, except Lithuania and Estonia.

Most newspapers are optimistic about the first day of the meeting. "Alma Ata—republics coming to accord", TRUD writes. "Nursultan Nazarbayev: We have come to agreement", KRASNAYA ZVEZDA cites the Kazakhstan leader.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA notes that republican premiers in Alma Ata on Tuesday approved a treaty on the economic community of sovereign states.

"In Alma Ata, a treaty on the economic community of former republics appeared in pain," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. The newspaper carries brief interviews with Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis, Armenian parliament President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Ukrainian parliament Vice-President Vladimir Grinev and Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov.

Most of them agree that there are doubts about the vital capacity of the decision to form an economic community of former Union republics, the newspaper writes.

Highlighting the situation in the country's hot spots, newspapers focus on the situation in Georgia. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports talks between the government and opposition.

PRAVDA notes that the Georgian people's victims "call for reason". SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA report tension in Tbilisi.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA write that the situation in the Dniester region is normalising and talks continue between the conflicting sides.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA notes that tensions are running high in South Ossetia. Despite a state of emergency in the republic, armed clashes and shelling continues in the region, leading to casualties.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA carries an interview with Vladimir Zhirinovsky, leader of the Soviet Liberal Democratic Party. Zhirinovsky favours introducing an "authoritarian regime" in the country to move the economy and society out of crisis.

Newspapers write about preparations for a Soviet-Austrian space flight on board the Soyuz TM-13 spacecraft. PRAVDA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA specify the flight schedule.

In an interview with TRUD, head of the Soviet Armed Forces' Department Lieutenant-General Fedor Ladygin and director of the Washington Centre for Defence Information Rear Admiral Gene Larocque discuss President George Bush's recent nuclear arms control initiative.

Economic

Silayev Says 12 Republics To Sign Economic Accord

OW0110161091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO at 1530 GMT]

[Text] Ivan Silayev who leads the Interrepublican Economic Committee has said he is satisfied with the results

of the meeting on economic problems held in the capital of Kazakhstan Alma Ata. Virtually all republics (except the 3 Baltic states: IF [INTERFAX] will initial the final version of the economic agreement, he said in an exclusive interview with IF's correspondent Evgeniy Terekhov.

This shows, said I. Silayev, that republics take their plans for economic cooperation very seriously. According to him, the meeting was rather stormy, and each point of economic agreement was discussed in 'detail.'

The meeting's success was largely due to the fact that experts from all republics had worked on the document thoroughly, said I. Silayev. We foresaw the difficulties we would face, but, fortunately, virtually all of them have been overcome. I cannot say that everyone left without a grievance, but this is only natural.

The main thing is, I. Silayev pointed out, that all the 12 republics proclaimed their intention to sign the agreement. This will be followed by the usual process of finalizing the document with which most of those present in principle agreed.

Besides, 8 republics (Russia, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Kyrgyzstan) announced their intention to sign the final text of the interrepublican economic agreement before October 15.

INTERFAX on Alma-Ata Declaration

OW0110205991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO at 2025 GMT]

[Text] The republican leaders attending an economic conference in Alma-Ata have coordinated measures to improve fuel, energy and food supplies in 1991-92. They also agreed on the basic principles underlying the future economic union of sovereign states.

The final document signed in Alma-Ata says the leaders of sovereign republics believe the only way to overcome the economic crisis is to encourage the country's transition to market relations and comprehensively support entrepreneurship. This would require a treaty of economic union.

The conference participants found it necessary to continue during the transitional period to maintain the existing economic ties between factories and organizations in the sovereign republics. To stabilize economic performance, the republics should conclude bilateral and multilateral agreements guaranteeing the delivery of major raw materials, food, consumer goods and services at agreed prices.

The conference in Alma-Ata yielded agreement on coordinated approaches to finances and prices. The introduction of republican currencies, in the opinion of all, should not damage the monetary system of the future economic union.

The republican leaders adopted a declaration of civil and inter- ethnic concord. The document says the heads of ex-Soviet republics undertake to deal with social contradictions during the transitional period with due regard for the interests of the various social and political groups and without permitting political extremism fraught with the threat of civil war.

The signatories pledge to treat each other on the basis of most favored nation status. They recognize the existing borders as inviolable and plege not to advance mutual territorial claims for the next 50 years and to cut short any provocations or attempts to fan inter-ethnic hostility on this basis.

One of the declaration provisions says that the signatory states will jointly control and manage the nuclear arsenals from a single center and in the interests of collective security.

'Final Coordination' Completed in Oct

LD0110170491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1557 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—Within the next three days a draft economic agreement will be presented to the prime ministers of the sovereign republics which intend to sign it in order for the agreement to be coordinated. This news was reported today by Andrey Grachev, assistant to the USSR president, at a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

After it has been fully coordinated, he noted, the draft will be turned over to the USSR State Council for confirmation. Preparation of the new draft Union treaty is proceeding in parallel and to a large extent synchronously. Final coordination of the two aforementioned documents could be completed in October, Andrey Grachev stated.

Yavlinskiy Suffers in Debate

PM0110124791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by M. Berger: "Treaty on Economic Community: First Stage Completed"]

[Text] Late Friday evening in Moscow the republics' plenipotentiary representatives completed a paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of the draft treaty prepared by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's group and backed by the State Council.

It took representatives of the 12 republics (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia did not take part) just a week to discuss the draft treaty and settle on a version that suits

the majority, at least at this level of representation. The relatively rapid pace of the work is due not so much to their awareness of the lack of time for long debates as to the very nature of the procedure.

The specialists involved in the work think that the treaty suffered considerable losses during the discussion. Admittedly, it later proved possible to revive some of the articles that were voted down by persuading most of the voters of their general utility. This applies, in particular, to the provision of equal rights for entrepreneurs regardless of where they are registered and freedom of access to resources. Initially the tendency "not to allow other people's" prevailed. However, they ultimately reached the opinion that you cannot get on together with that kind of attitude and equality of entrepreneurial rights on the territory of states within the community was restored.

A number of fundamental clauses failed to hold out in the draft. On the insistence of Russia's representatives they decided not to make use of the ruble compulsory on the territories of full members of the Economic Community.

The Ukraine blocked the adoption of an article that makes provision for coordinating budgetary and tax policy and an agreed restriction on budget deficits for associate members. By and large the Ukraine's position, geared merely to associate status within the Community, came down to relaxing as far as possible any commitments whatsoever with a bearing on this status, which it succeeded in doing in many respects.

At the same time a fairly tough norm was adopted with regard to those who do not join the Economic Community. The draft envisages a three-month period in order to decide whether to join the Community. If this decision is not made within that period all economic relations with those states will be transferred to world prices and international rules.

The mechanism for servicing the foreign debt for which the draft originally made provision has undergone a fundamental change. A mechanism was suggested that is reminiscent of the current practice of a hard-currency tax on the centralized fund's export revenue. The republics' representatives sharply opposed this and agreed to pay fixed sums to the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. Where this money will come from and what percentage of export revenue it totals is the payer's internal affair.

The fact that the concept of "private ownership," which, along with destatization and privatization, was assigned the main role in the economy's development, was removed from the draft for good at the plenipotentiary representatives' insistence came as a great surprise. The upshot is that only privatization and the insubstantial destatization are left.

Now, if everything goes to plan, all the premiers will meet in Alma-Ata 1 October to discuss the prepared draft treaty and then the treaty could probably be signed in Moscow 9 October.

Gorbachev Cuts Economic Aid Request by $5 Billion

LD0210130191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1233 GMT 2 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Oct (TASS)—The amount of Western economic aid that USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev is asking for has been cut from $15 billion to 10 billion.

Andrey Grachev, head of the USSR president's press service, explained in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that "during the meeting between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and EC Commission Vice Chairman Henning Christophersen, matters pertaining to economic aid from the West were discussed. During the conversation, readiness was heard on the part of the EC leadership to accelerate this and to concentrate on priority areas. These include the provision of foodstuffs to the population of the USSR in the forthcoming hard winter, particularly residents of major industrial centers, as well as reorganizing agriculture."

In Andrey Grachev's words, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed gratitude to Western countries for their willingness to provide economic aid. The president stressed that the Soviet Union wishes to reduce the volume of aid to the minimum level necessary. The figure of $10 billion was mentioned. According to the head of the press service, the president told Christophersen that this figure appeared after the Soviet Union's own resources and potential had been calculated.

Reports which have appeared in the Western mass media about the U.S. President's decision partially to accelerate aid provision and immediately to grant $600 million in the form of credits for the Soviet side to purchase foodstuffs are to be welcomed. "Undoubtedly," said the head of the press service, "the USSR president will be grateful for support for the political and economic processes taking place in the Soviet Union in this difficult transition period."

Prospects for Western Economic Aid Viewed

PM0110133091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[PRAVDA political observer Tomas Kolesnichenko commentary under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Will They Or Will They Not Give Us Anything"]

[Text] We know from science that every experiment with a negative result in its own way brings the truth nearer as it narrows the range of incorrect solutions. And this is a step forward. In this case we really have made a gigantic step forward. The state and the economy are crumbling

before our very eyes. And we, finding ourselves in tatters amid the ruins of our hopes, are directing curses and accusations at each other.

And at the same time we say in surprise: But the West, the West is only making promises, lecturing us; where is the "genuine assistance," why are they not giving us money?

To ask the question "Why are they not giving us anything?" is a pure socialist gain. I remember when I was working in New York I got a telephone call: "Is that the PRAVDA correspondents' desk?" an agitated female voice asked in Russian. "I am an immigrant and have been in America three months now and they have not given me an apartment; I want to complain..."

The woman could not understand at all that where she was now, people do not "give" you anything; you have to earn everything for yourself.

No one will give us anything. Our return to "world civilization" and to the world economy is not the prodigal son's return to his rich father's home, even if it is called the European home.

But we who have grown accustomed to believing in utopia naively suppose that they are waiting for us with open arms. Especially now that the democrats have come to power. You see we are now "on the same side," so to speak, "close to one another from a social point of view." We have even let our political prisoners go.

But here we forget the most important thing: Rich folk only love poor folk in fairy tales. And they help them out when it suits them, when circumstances force them to. There is nothing reprehensible here. We are simply confusing (especially now) "their" dynamic and rational society with a society of universal justice. Incidentally, "they" make no claim to this. It was always we who made such a claim, while they got on with their everyday lives. Lives which are harsh but have their own objective laws which at one time we rushed at in a frenzied cavalry charge.

These objective laws are now dictating to the West the answer to the following question: "To give or not to give?" It is not enough for them that we have "freedom," they are waiting for our market to start up, or at least for a genuine step in that direction. But each genuine step is a problem and headache for the regime.

The democrats, just like the communists before them, are afraid of the market. It is clear even to the nonspecialist today that the alluring market, in the absence of social protection structures, is a leap in the dark. The democrats would gladly have left the former powers to sort out its primary consequences (millions out of work, society's social division, and the like). But now the power has fallen into their hands like an apple. And it has become a bone of contention.

And the West is waiting to see how all this will end, or to be more precise, when it will begin. On 22 August people over there began to talk for all they were worth about wide-ranging aid to the USSR. Today these conversations are dying down.

And this is how things will be until the democrats decide on realistic, meaning unpopular, steps toward establishing the market, and that means first of all the privatization of state property, floating (not contractually agreed) prices, a convertible ruble, and perhaps monetary reform. Our market is for the West not only a guarantee of our economy's revival but also a pledge that a return to the past is not possible—which also has to be taken into consideration.

The West is also waiting for stability. Who, after all, should be granted assistance when it is requested in many countries (Korea, Japan) by envoys of not only the presidents of the USSR and Russia, but also the mayor of Moscow "separately." Add to this the vigorous activities of the now independent republics which are ready to turn their distorted monocultures into convertible currency: For example, we give you cotton, and you give us computers. As a result a neanderthal bartering system and antediluvian exchanges are flourishing which bear no relation to modern forms of trade, or to a finance and credit system. When Silayev found himself at Union level it took him a few days to realize this. But a single economic space is something we only dream of.

It is difficult to find a way out. It is clearly necessary to begin with concrete projects which have passed the preliminary expert scrutiny of Western specialists. It is for such projects that you can both receive credits and, what is doubtless more important, attract direct capital input—investments. And at the same time train a whole detachment of specialists and managers. They are more necessary to us than modish entrepreneurs at the pitiful level of cooperatives. There is no longer any confidence in these captains of "primitive" business, either here or in the West. But they will donate, invest, even take chances to "back managers."

In short we will have to tread the path that, under the protection of the Marshall Plan, Europe once trod and in recent times Korea, Taiwan, Turkey, and others trod under the guidance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There will be strict control but there will then be genuine assistance. And it is unnecessary to hold a requiem for the "Great Power." People say we swapped it for a Nobel Prize. A power's greatness lies in its people living a life worthy of them and not in it being armed to the teeth and people being frightened of it.

The other day on "Vremya" I heard the presenter say: "In 20 years' time we will only be able to draw level with Turkey. Does this thought make you feel good? As for me, it doesn't!"

As for me personally, it makes me feel good. I do not know in how many years we will catch up with Turkey, which incidentally has already become a computer

power, but if we do, we will not be making a mistake. In any case, this is better than speculating: Will they or will they not give us anything?

IMF To Grant 'Special Associated Member' Status

LD0110140191 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Alexander Markov]

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—The Soviet Union will soon be granted the status of a special associated member of the International Monetary Fund, according to a decision of the Fund's board of governors.

TASS learned from the International Economic Relations Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry that the Soviet Union made an application for admission to the International Monetary Fund last July.

For the USSR to join the International Monetary Fund, a special association has to be set up. It is a separate agreement between the USSR and the Fund. IMF directors have already made this decision. The special association status has been introduced by the Fund for the first time to enable Soviet entry.

As a member of the IMF the USSR can receive technical aid in a number of areas. For instance, specialists of the Fund will give consultations, produce economic surveys and analitical reports for the USSR, observe the implementation of economic reforms and make appropriate recommendations.

The IMF will also provide technical assistance for the Soviet Union on some economic projects, as well as monetary, budget, banking and other matters. Some training programmes for Soviet officials will be set up.

For its part the Soviet Union is obliged to supply the IMF with economic information to be included in the Fund's publications, specifically international financial statistics, annual reports on currency regulation and restrictions and reviews of the world economy. The Soviet Union will have to contribute towards covering the Fund's expenditures and, finally, a Soviet branch of the IMF will be opened in the country with full assistnce and support from the Soviet Government.

A representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry also said that under the terms of the agreement, the opportunity for sovereign republics to join in the activities of the IMF will be discussed in the framework of the USSR's special association in the Monetary Fund. He said that unless there are additional obstacles, the agreement with the IMF will go into effect as early as mid-October.

Observer Urges Republics to Retain Links

LD0110140491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1326 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By TASS Observer Albert Balebanov]

[Text] [No dateline as received] Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, stated in an interview with TASS that the international financial organization that he heads has already outlined its policy for aid to the Soviet Union in reorganizing its economy. He stressed in particular that for the USSR to successfully switch to a market economy "it would be preferable if there were a common unit of currency, a central bank, and no trade barriers."

It is difficult to deny Mr Attali's good sense and logic, and his profound knowledge of the way that the free market functions. Those leaders of Soviet republics who have recently begun advocating the introduction of their own national currencies and the establishment of customs posts on the geographical borders between republics would do well to acquaint themselves with Mr Attali's views. I am convinced that their stand is at complete cross-purposes to the policy of close integration consistently and steadfastly pursued by the EC.

Let us not forget that the 35 member-countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe unanimously concluded at their gathering in Bonn in March and April 1990 that it is precisely along the lines of the EC and its accumulated experience that a single economic space spanning the continent can be constructed. They did not come to this conclusion for nothing. It was defined by the degree of integration achieved by the 12 west European countries in forming their own single internal market envisaging free movement by people, capital, goods, and services across the borders of the community's members.

The draft treaty on economic union between the republics deciding to join a renewed union of sovereign states is intended to achieve precisely such aims. Not for nothing did Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, call the conclusion of this treaty "the only way to balance the country's budget, give the ruble some clout, and at the same time chart a way out of the crisis which is gripping the union". One has to agree with Nazarbayev that it would be disastrous for all the republics to sever overnight the economic links that currently exist.

Let me add that these links are based on a level of integration that in many parameters is comparable to, or exceeds, that of the EC. It would be a fundamental mistake to turn away from that which has already been achieved. On the contrary, we should build on and develop our experience, retaining the most valuable features for the future market economy. I think that I am right in saying that we have accumulated much that is of value.

The speed at which we progress to a market economy will dictate not only the efficacy of our reforms and the onset of a favorable economic environment but also the scale of foreign aid, in particular from the most developed western countries. The West can be understood when it says that it wants to know with whom it can deal. That is,

we urgently require new structures and institutions, without which a single market cannot operate.

Perhaps this is why the republics willing to join the revitalized union should for a certain period of time cast aside political and national ambitions and immediately set about establishing a single market? All the more so since without such a market our hopes of a bright future will never come true. I am convinced that in this, we have something to ponder. Before it is too late.

State Bank Law May Be Abolished in Restructuring

PM0110132591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 91 Union Edition p1

[Commentary by V. Romanyuk and I. Zhagel: "The Ruble's Economic Space May Not Coincide With the Union's Borders"]

[Text] One of the most progressive laws of the perestroyka era—the USSR Law "On the USSR State Bank"—may soon be abolished. This essentially follows from the decisions taken by a recent two-day Moscow conference of the heads of central banks of sovereign republics which use the ruble as their unit of currency.

It goes without saying that this recently adopted law can only be abolished by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our parliament will hardly take this decision lightly. It has nothing to do with pride. The options proposed by the republics regarding the organization of a new State Bank, or, to use their terminology, a coordinating banking body, would in fact deprive the USSR Supreme Soviet of many levers of control over the country's credit and money system.

Whereas the Union parliament may appoint the chairman and deputy chairman of the USSR State Bank Council and the 10 remaining members of this council are appointed by the republics under the present law, after the adoption of a new scheme all such matters will be transferred to the republics' jurisdiction. Consequently, the USSR Supreme Soviet's role in the life of the country will be limited even further, if not turned into something purely symbolic.

We must, nevertheless, admit that the formation of a whole series of sovereign states requires changes in our banking structures. All in all, we are faced with a unique situation which could continue for an interminably long time: The ruble is going to be the basic unit of currency even in those sovereign states which are not part of the Union. To artificially speed up this process, however, by pushing the "rebels" to adopt their own units of currency would not only put them in a difficult economic situation but the entire Union as well.

It would be more sensible to turn the USSR State Bank into a body which enjoys the sovereign states' trust. It could be modeled along the lines of the classic international banking organization which operates on the basis of interstate agreements. With time, this would force many to abandon the idea of introducing their own unit of currency, even with a considerable degree of sovereignization.

Incidentally, a letter sent to the conference participants beforehand by USSR State Bank Chairman V. Gerashchenko said that the "new banking body could resemble the IMF, the Bank for International Settlements, or the bodies responsible for the EEC's financial and currency integration as far as its legal status and organizational structure are concerned. Relations between the central banks in this supranational body of money and credit regulation could be based on the principles adopted in international practice."

Roughly the same opinion is held by the leadership of the Russian Central Bank, which organized a special press conference in this connection a few days ago. It believes that the USSR State Bank should be transformed into a joint-stock company with its property owned on a share basis by the signatories to an interbank agreement. This structure's highest body would be its board, consisting of the chairmen of the republics' central banks. They would elect a chairman of the board from among themselves on a rotational basis.

An important point is that the members of the board could hold an unequal number of votes—depending on the number of shares to which the Central Bank, represented by them, had subscribed. In turn, the number of shares would depend—albeit not in direct proportion—on the economic potential of the party concerned. In other words, it is thereby stipulated that the representative of a powerful republic like Russia, for example, would have more votes than the representative of a small republic or a small sovereign state.

The coordinating banking body would have a permanent staff headed by an executive director to handle day-to-day affairs. The executive director would be appointed to office by the members of the board, who would enter into a contract with him and approve the estimated expenditure on employees' salary.

In principle, Russia's proposed scheme is supported by many in one form or another. Their only misgiving is that, if votes are distributed in line with economic potential, the biggest republic could have the power to block any collective decision. On this matter too the leaders of the Russian Central Bank showed sufficient wisdom and willingness to compromise at the conference mentioned above. In particular, they said that the biggest republic's scope should be limited so that it does not have a right of veto.

Clearly, all accords reached at the conference are only a preliminary. A detailed draft of the interbank agreement and the coordinating banking body's statute must be drawn up by a special group of the republics' representatives. It has been given a deadline: 15 October.

The meeting's participants also agreed that all documents they prepare must undergo expert assessment by

the most important international financial institutions. This is an extremely important condition: You only have to think of the 1987 banking reform or the latest draft of the still unsigned Union Treaty to feel sure. They would hardly be given top rating by foreign banking specialists.

It was felt advisable that the current administration of the banking and credit system be conducted on a collective basis, with the participation of the heads of the sovereign republics' central banks, until an interbank agreement has been concluded. But it was agreed in particular that no one feels it possible to stop any of the others from introducing national currencies on their respective territories, although the mutual obligations that would arise would be liable to coordinated regulation by the sovereign states.

Officials Suggest Restructuring Savings Banks

LD0210063991 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Petrenko]

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—Representatives of savings banks in republics of the USSR have decided to reorganise themselves after meeting in Moscow at the end of September.

Vladimir Khorkin, president of the board of the USSR Savings Bank, said that an all-Union body such as the Savings Bank of the USSR which was Union property, will cease to exit as a number of Union republics have become sovereign states, while others are striving to acheive independence, he told TASS.

It was not accidental that this matter was the centre of a conference of representatives of savings banks of sovereign republics in which banks chiefs from all 15 republics participated. This confirms that savings banks are trying to preserve durable and long-term economic ties in the interests of investors.

Khorkin said the conference discussed proposals for altering functions and structures of the Savings Bank of the USSR, for its possible successor and creation of an association of savings banks of sovereign republics on the basis of voluntary entry and equality of all members. This is expected to be a non-state and non-government association with functions delegated by its member banks.

Representatives of republics' savings banks agreed in the interests of investors and in order to consolidate their activity, to preserve the existing system of sevicing population and legal entities, as well as settling accounts between banks.

Khorkin believes state power structures should confirm by economic agreement or in a special statement of members of an economic union the continuity of obligations given on behalf of the USSR to investors in the Savings Bank of the USSR and holders of securities and certificates of the bank.

Khorkin said investments have increased considerably of late. A sum of 14 billion rubles was put on savings banks in the USSR over ten weeks in the third quarter, whereas the sum invested in savings banks for the same period last year was only five billion. There are some 593 billion rubles on bank accounts in the USSR at present.

Report of Gold Thefts Noted; Economic Damage Seen

PM0110105991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Lyutyy under the rubric "Talking About Rumors" and general heading "Where Is the Gold Jinni Hiding?": "What They Think in London"]

[Text] So the reports in the Western press, notably the British press, to the effect that rather large consignments of gold have been secretly abducted from the USSR does not arouse any emotion among specialists here?

"Emotions are one thing, but the precious metals market reacts most acutely of all to concrete facts, not to feelings formed under the influence of newspaper stories," John Koli [name as transliterated], expert at the London gold bullion market association, explained to me. "Now when the putsch took place in Moscow and a world crisis developed, we sensed the agitation—the people started actively buying up gold. This is apparent at the moment. Although we are actively following the situation in the USSR and we are familiar with the reports in THE GUARDIAN newspaper..."

Indeed, it is the items in that newspaper that have probably caused the most rumors here of late. The gist of them is that for some months now currency and precious stones or metals have been secretly taken out of the Union. And this could be the work of some of the smartest members of the party and state bureaucracy.

Dan Atkinson and Mark Milner, two staffers at THE GUARDIAN's London offices, who have pretty reliable sources in the City, reported the other day that, according to some data, since the spring around $4 billions' worth of has flowed out of the Union, bypassing normal export channels. First it was ferried to Switzerland, now it is in London. Experts believe that around 10.8 million troy ounces have been taken out, and that is nearly one-tenth of our entire gold reserve.

It is not clear, Atkinson and Milner add, whether these secret deliveries form part of a "package" totaling $12 billion which the Russian authorites and some journalists here suspect has been transferred to the West and now sits in secret accounts in respectable banks. Be that as it may, according to local estimates, our entire currency reserves amount to only $6 billion. It would be

extremly difficult to scrape together 12, unless one were to resort to selling off precious metals and stones.

It is no accident, the British journalists believe, that the gold from Russia was first ferried to Switzerland. That country does not register imports of precious metals, so they can go unnoticed.

Who is doing it? Atkinson and Milner write: "Specialists are getting rumors about an increasing unofficial flow of gold from Russia, and this gives reason to suppose that senior figures in the party, the KGB, and the Armed Forces are currently creating nest eggs abroad in case the democratic reforms force them to leave the country."

It is hard to judge whether these reports are true or not. But there is no smoke without fire, as they say. If currency and precious stones or metals actually are leaving the Union—even if it is not on such a large scale—then it causes damage of many kinds. In the first place, the already ragged state becomes even poorer. Second, it makes it difficult for us to join the IMF and the World Bank, because one of the conditions of membership is that precise figures be supplied on the size and location of Soviet gold reserves.

End To Government Anti-Entrepreneural Acts Urged

OW0210012591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2025 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Entrepreneurs in the Maritime Territory [Maritime Kray] have called on the USSR and RSFSR presidents and parliaments to cancel a number of Gorbachev's decrees "in order to give producers a free hand to act and to support and protect entrepreneurship". The decrees in question concern measures against sabotage and other economic crimes, the special regime of using hard currency in 1991, and the introduction of worker control of the storage, transportation and sale of food and consumer goods.

The Far Eastern entrepreneurs believe it is also essential to deprive the police, KGB and custom service of the right to enter the offices and homes of entrepreneurs without the procurator's permission to search things and confiscate documents and finances.

Business circles in the Maritime Territory insist that persons "under investigation or already convicted for economic crimes that do not endanger social wellbeing" be pardoned. They believe that the formation of market relations in the Maritime Territory "requires the state to develop and implement a policy that would protect entrepreneurship in the Far East and facilitate the local economy's integration into the economy of the Asian-Pacific Region."

Electricity Production May Decrease 20 Percent

OW0210013591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2300 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR may produce 10 to 15

less electricity next winter than it needs—or even 20

if the winter is colder than during the previous year, says a forecast of the USSR Energy Ministry.

The national Integrated Energy System has a very small reserve power: 3 to 4

, several times lower than the statutory figure. This is because during the last two decades the commissioning of electricity-generating capacities has failed to keep pace with the growth of electricity consumption.

A 7 mn. kW [million kilowatts] deficit of electric power is predicted at the end of the year. Particularly hard hit may be: the Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, Trans-Caucasia, central Russia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Chita Region and Buryatia.

ELECTRIC STATIONS HAVE LOWER STOCK OF FUEL THAN LAST YEAR

By late September Soviet power stations had laid in less fuel to work on in winter than at the same time last year. The stock of coal is 5 mn. tons smaller that at the same time in 1990 and that of boiler oil, 1.8 mn. tons smaller, reports the Energy Ministry.

MOSCOW. The 14 mn. kW Moscow energy system (a peak load on the system may be as high as 15.5 mn. kW) needs to lay in 640,000 of boiler oil and 450,000 of coal [no measurement as received] in the fourth quarter of 1991. The agreed-on shipments of boiler oil and coal to Moscow and Moscow region will be short of the capital's needs for thermal energy and electricity.

UKRAINE. Due to a drop in coal production, thermal power stations of the Ukraine, whose economic potential is second only to that of Russia in this country, have laid in a million tons of coal less than in 1990. Following an anti-nuclear post-Chernobyl backlash, the aggregate capacity of nuclear pover plants dropped 1.4 mn. kW over the period. Experts estimate that while last year 20% of power-generating capacities were idle due to insufficient shipments of fuel from Russia, next winter may prove even a more severe blow to them.

FAR EAST. Caps were set on electric and thermal energy consumption in the Far East (Pacific coast, the island Sakhalin and Magadan Region) because of a shortfall in coal shipments from Neryungri and South Yakutia.

HYDROELECTRIC POWER STATIONS TO PRODUCE 222 BN. KW/H IN 1995

The aggregate power of Soviet hydropower stations will have reached 69 to 71 mn. kW by 1995 instead of the planned 73 to 74 mn., claim experts. Given the crisis the sector is in and suspended construction on a number of new stations, the sector will produce 222 to 239 bn. kW/h [kilowatt-hours] annually in the mid-1990s, as against 233 bn. kW/h in 1990

Over the last three years, construction has been suspended on large stations in the mid-reaches of the Yenisei (capacity 6 mn. kW and the city of Turukhansk (12 mn. kW) in East Siberia, and Balakovo and Cheboksary (both with a capacity of 3.6 mn kW) on the Volga; the parameters of still other stations have been downgraded and some projects vere stopped in the blueprint stage. All in all, some 20 stations have been affected.

Nikolayev Shipyards Convert to Civilian Production

LD0110220391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0718 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Summary] Nikolayev, 1 Oct (UKRINFORM-TASS)—"The Nikolayev '61 Kommunara' Shipyard Association has ceased building warships. 'We have almost halved the volume of defense work over a short period,' Association Director I. Ovdiyenko reported. 'Now we are only finishing off and repairing warships, but not starting any new ones. The government has cut off financing. But we have avoided difficulties by increasing our production of civilian vessels and consumer goods.'"

The conversion came just as the yards were being reprofiled for defense production, and hundreds of workers were facing unemployment. New orders were sought, however, and a contract to build floating hotels was soon signed with the Danish firm (Flotel Aarhus). The first has already been launched and towed to the customer, and the second is under construction. Some of the hard currency earned in this fashion is being used to buy new equipment, and some is being converted to rubles to increase working capital and to cut costs associated with conversion.

According to Ovdiyenko, the yards have been building refrigeration vessels for fishing fleets and for perishable cargoes carriers for many years, and this will now be their main activity. They also hope to attract foreign investment to modernize the yards. A letter of intent has already been signed with one foreign firm, and a refrigeration vessel may be sold this year as part of an investment deal.

Scientific

Live Coverage of Soviet-Austrian Space Flight

LD0210072391

Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0430 GMT on 2 September, in the "Utro" program, carries a live and recorded report by correspondents Aleksandr Gerasimov and Petr Orlov from the Baykonyr cosmodrome on the preparations and launch of the Soviet-Austrian space flight.

The reporters state that the cosmonauts have been in the spaceship for over an hour. At 2032 Kazakh time the spaceship was tested for airtightness. Gerasimov reminds viewers that the launch is taking place from a Kazakh cosmodrome following the declaration of Kazakh sovereignty. The usual flight engineer has been replaced by two space researchers.

Orlov continues the report from the rostrum where guests are awaited. He says that the aircraft carrying the dignitaries left Alma-Ata at 0500. Journalists and a group of American artists from NASA are already present. Father Pitirim also came to the launching.

These short reports by Gerasimov, who is shown out on the field, and Orlov, in front of the rostrum, are followed by recorded footage of the cosmonauts signing their names on their room doors, leaving their hotel, and being taken by bus to the launch pad where their suits were tested. Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev is shown wishing them a successful flight and mentioning the importance of yesterday's meeting in Alma-Ata. Thanks to the meeting, the heads of the republics will witness the start. Republican heads are sitting around Nazarbayev. The cosmonauts are shown leaving the chairman of the state commission and entering the spaceship.

Gerasimov concludes that the cosmonauts have been in the spaceship for one hour and 35 minutes, and says that the hatches have been tested for airtightness.

Against a background of videotape of the spaceship, Gerasimov reports that the crew has now been in the ship for two and one-half hours and has thoroughly checked the ship. Some trouble was experienced with the onboard tape recorder providing the crew with music. Owing to the strong winds at Baykonyr, doubts were expressed as to whether the launch would take place, but this now seems definite.

Orlov again reports from the rostrum, where Nazarbayev and Vranitzky are waiting. Brief biographies of the cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Takhtar Aubakirov, and Franz Viehboek follow, with video clips of the cosmonauts in training. He says that the launch is to take place in 17 minutes. Previous video clips are then repeated.

Orlov continues to report from the rostrum, where Ivan Silayev and Vranitzky have joined Nazarbayev. Vranitzky is asked whether this is his first space launch.

Nazarbayev states that he thinks that the cosmodrome belongs to all the Soviet people. He again stresses the importance of yesterday's meeting and the accord that will create a single economic region. Silayev is asked whether space is working for the country or vice versa. Silayev states that space should be used for the country's development. Nazarbayev again stresses the hopes for economic improvement promised by yesterday's meeting. Video shows Vranitzky, Nazarbayev, and Silayev answering questions on the rostrum.

A five-minute preparation period is then announced. Seven minutes to the launch remain. The cosmonauts will spend eight days in orbit. Services on Earth are now registering all the parameters on the spaceship. Gerasimov reminds viewers that Baykonyr was closed for many years, but today there are thousands of people present.

At 0557 GMT two minutes remain to the launch. The video focuses on the spaceship, which is shown blasting off at 0559 GMT. Those on the rostrum are shown watching the ship disappear. Video clips of the cosmonauts inside the ship are also featured. The spaceship is seen as separation of boosters begins. The reporters note that the cosmonauts will now have to fly for two days to the Mir station.

The report concludes with a meeting at Baykonyr at which the chief designer states that the Mir station is not for sale. The report continues with a list of the tasks to be carried out by the flight. Details of the Kazakh space program follow. Military officials from the cosmodrome speak about the space program.

Orlov concludes the report by saying that the spaceship has now finished separating from the rockets and that the cosmonauts are now in a state of weightlessness.

Further as warranted.

Future of Soviet Space Program Examined

LD0210035191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Tomorrow, at the invitation of Kazakhstan's President Nazarbayev, those attending the Alma-Ata meeting fly to the Baykonyr cosmodrome, where they will witness the take-off of the Soviet-Austrian space crew. Viewers will see a live report on the take-off in the "Utro" program. At the moment, our correspondent, Petr Orlov, is there. [video shows distant shot of a booster rocket being transported along a railway track]

[Begin recording] [Orlov] Space research, which ideally would have drawn our equipment and technology up to a modern level, has itself turned out to be a victim of the collapse and redivisions that embrace a vast area of the former Union. The fate of fundamental and practical work on the Mir space station, distant space exploration, and the defense orbital programs up to and including the communications satellites that have to be changed every year, depends on the wish and the ability of the sovereign republics to agree among themselves. Let us hope that that process has started today in Alma-Ata. [video shows shots of Mir; views of the Earth from space; rocket on launch pad]

Clearly, space research will not be a priority issue during the talks, obviously following such issues as the sharing of the external debt, customs barriers, and territorial questions. The Baykonyr cosmodrome is a different matter. It is a problem of former Soviet property.

[Unidentifed man] All enterprises, institutions, and organizations, irrespective of their departmental subordination in the past, switch over not only to the jurisdiction but to the state administration and leadership of the government administrative bodies of Kazakhstan.

[Orlov] In practice, though, the situation has hardly changed at all. Financing comes from the previous source.

[Unidentifed Air Force officer] Only the Ministry of Defense.

[Orlov] To all appearances, everyone who previously launched space vehicles from here will have to reach an agreement with Kazakhstan. They are the large communications satellites, Energiya, Buran, and all the manned vessels, including international crews like the Soviet-Austrian crew that flies off to the Mir station tomorrow, with the participation of a Kazakh cosmonaut. [video shows a hangar with a space vehicle; the Soviet-Austrian crew; rocket on launch pad] [end recording]

Incidentally, Kazakh cosmonaut Takhtar Aubakirov has said that in the international crew he will be representing Kazakhstan.

Secret Activities of Microbiology Institute

PM0110155091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 91 p 4

[Report by special correspondent V. Nedogonov: "Directed-Energy Plague, Or What the Secret Scientific Research Institute Near Moscow Did"]

[Text] I never did find out where the settlement of Obolensk is located. In Serpukhov, near Moscow, I was seated in a vehicle with opaque side windows (in addition, it was disguised externally as an ambulance) and driven for some 30 minutes. A strange set of shelves with green containers swayed in front of my eyes in time with the potholes in the road, and the chief of the guard department, seated beside me, explained that test tubes containing microorganisms are transported in such boxes.

On the way I called to mind all that I knew about the purpose of my journey. The Scientific Research Institute

of Applied Microbiology was set up in the early seventies. The foundations of the first houses in the settlement of Obolensk, which still does not appear on the map of the oblast, were laid simultaneously. The official reason for the start of construction was a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on boosting the role of genetic engineering and microbiology in the country's national economy but, as is customary in our country, different purposes were concealed beneath the official statement. A very strict secret was made of the fact that the institute was earmarked for the study of the existing biological and bacteriological weapons and the development of reliable vaccines to protect the Army and the civilian population. Terrible rumors still abound in the environs. It is alleged that huge capacities containing plague and cholera are kept in deep underground stores here. And one drop is said to be sufficient for a dreadful epidemic to mow down the capital's entire oblast. It is also said that someone saw monkeys being brought to the institute—this means that experiments are being conducted on organisms similar to human ones (and, maybe, on humans at the same time?). That a countless number of mice is kept somewhere in the institute's nurseries: What if a single mouse should escape and spread infections throughout the region?

And, finally, the latest and most alarming rumor: Several years ago the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Applied Microbiology began research into the creation of special bacteria capable of secreting psychotropic substances. They are used to control a person's psyche.

I have arrived. An unprepossessing four-story building. No guards can be seen on the outside, but this is only because they are concealed in the inner vestibule. All the doors in the narrow corridors are without nameplates, and each one is sealed up at the end of the work day.

"Let us at once make an agreement," A. Stepanov, deputy director for science, said on the threshold. "We will talk about what we are working on. But what becomes of this is a state secret."

There was nothing for it but to agree.

Throughout the years of its existence the institute has led a double life. At scientific conferences and symposiums its staffers were animatedly reporting on successes in the sphere of the struggle against plant pests and efforts to develop new medicines. Meanwhile, behind the closed doors of the first block, strains of anthrax, plague, tularemia, and many other diseases which have been taken into the arsenal of the army of the "potential enemy" were being grown in test tubes and Pasteur dishes. The biggest and best part of the scientific cadres (out of 1,200 employees—500 in the first block and the rest scattered about four other blocks) was channeled into precisely these assignments. Only selected people on a special list have access to this mysterious first block. An important detail: In addition to having special permits, at least three inoculations have to be carried out.

I decided to risk it, and with the leadership's permission I headed for the holy of holies without inoculations.

A big eight-story glass cube is surrounded by a triple cordon. It lies behind a wire fence, and there are guards at every barrier, at the entrance to the block, and on every floor. The laboratories—a further cube within the cube—are surrounded by a corridor around the perimeter. It was to this glass perimeter that they agreed to admit me.

I looked through a peephole. Beyond the glass there were test tubes containing a dull liquid—death in every one.

The work day here lasts till 1600—it is dangerous to one's health to stay here longer than the prescribed time. The laboratories do not have a direct outlet to the outside. The air leaving them is calcined, and all waste is disinfected and burned.

Who gives assignments to the specialists of the first block?

"People in civilian clothes who arrive from time to time with new orders," V. Volkov, another deputy director, explained. "We do not know who they are. They only give their surname when they introduce themselves. They are accompanied, as a rule, by the sector leadership, and we know that we must not ask superfluous questions. They give assignments and they take the finished products away in special vehicles."

I wonder if they are the very same "ambulances" in one of which I was recently being driven.

To all appearances, the people in civilian dress are highly professional microbiologists, and their orders differ depending on the latest intelligence data. The most recent orders are to study immunity and to create microorganisms capable, "according to a set program," of producing substances unknown in nature. In recent years the "people in civilian dress" have been very interested in the so-called "legionnaires' disease"—a dangerous pulmonary disease. (It differs from others in that it is easily transmitted through the air—it is sufficient to "charge" an ordinary domestic air conditioner with one drop in order instantaneously to infect everyone in a building).

Work that is of interest to me is also being conducted here into the creation of "guided" bacteria. However, while admitting this, the institute's leaders categorically disown their use to control the mind.

One thing, at least, is as clear as day: A colossal range of the most dreadful diseases is concentrated here, in a beautiful pine forest. For many years, under the command of secret clients, microbes have been grown and had new properties imparted to them, and animals have been infected, destroyed, and bred again.

The last prepaid order is to be fulfilled by December of this year. And what then? Who will need the "death-dealing plant" next year? Or will it go over to a cost-recovery basis and start trading in death wholesale and retail?

At present people here are urgently trying to requalify for the production of medical preparations (all these years we have been so lacking in them!). The latest development is called the "tumor necrosis factor." Its action is still being tested on laboratory baboons, which are infected in advance with a cancerous tumor.

The institute leadership is in no doubt that such rated specialists will always find work.

Nevertheless, there is already no money to pay the next wages. The atmosphere in the collective has been inflamed to the limit, and at the time of the August putsch the first block was urgently sealed, and three alarm systems were set up: The management was afraid that the idea of a biological war for democracy (or against it) might arise in the employees' excited consciousness...

That time there was no emergency. But life is deteriorating even without the putsch. The collective farm under the institute's patronage has already grown so bold as to refuse to feed the microbiologists unless they themselves gather the harvest from the fields. Every day 300 scientists set out not for the laboratories but the fields. They include 100 candidates of medical sciences, 10 doctors, three professors...

There is no other employment for them at present. And even those who are working are disenchanted with biological weapons.

"Chemical weapons are far more effective," V. Volkov observed. "Bacteria need an incubation period."

Have all the secrets vanished into the past? I still have reason to doubt it...

"It is possible to influence the mind even with the help of substances contained in the venom of the ordinary cobra," V. Volkov said on parting (I was taken back through the forest in an ordinary vehicle). "Only the system of orders was so organized that sometimes we could not guess which part of the work we were fulfilling. Do you understand? This is all brought together somewhere else..."

Military

Shaposhnikov on Force Reductions, Bush Proposal

LD0110203291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Report on interview with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov by correspondent V. Flyarkovskiy "today"; place not given—passages within quotation marks are recorded; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Flyarkovskiy] During the rebirth of the Soviet military department, journalists have beaten a path to that department without any problems. The rumors about the cordiality of new Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov were confirmed today when he willingly agreed to answer two questions from the "Vesti" program.

First, the minister reaffirmed the leadership's readiness to reduce the number of Army personnel by 700,000 men, as he had mentioned in an interview with a Japanese newspaper. The minister considers this new strength—3,000,000 servicemen—to be a level of sensible sufficiency. The extremely successful progress of the talks begun in Vienna recently has enabled this step to be taken. The minister has a simple financial calculation to add to this.

[Shaposhnikov] "To somehow reshape—so to speak—the structure of the budget in favor of maintaining our personnel."

[Flyarkovskiy] The second and most important thing today: The Soviet side's upcoming response to the U.S. President's initiative. The minister noted the peculiarity of removing strategic force units from alert status. There is an element of noble risk on Bush's part, inasmuch as a potential enemy now has the opportunity to launch a first disarming strike. Such a step is worthy of an comparable reciprocal act. Also worthy of a full-fledged response is the liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons. First, this is a step toward a nuclear-free world. And second?

[Shaposhnikov] "A red light on the path toward the unsanctioned use, or...."

[Flyarkovskiy, interrupting] "Of strategic weapons?"

[Shaposhnikov] "Of strategic weapons. Right. Therefore here...."

[Flyarkovskiy, interrupting] "In other words, if you and I had a fight, and I had a knife and you had a gun, (?surely you could just shoot me?)"

[Shaposhnikov] "Of course, and in this case there would no longer be any knives, so to speak. We also are working on things at the moment; I believe that we shall be presenting them to the president literally in the next few days, and then they will be put into effect."

[Flyarkovskiy] "And when will we hear a response?"

[Shaposhnikov] "I believe that we will be hearing something this week."

[Flyarkovskiy] By the way, the minister—from whose face the smile rarely disappeared—also noted that in

every major conversation there are a great number of little secrets over which one needs to take a lot of time to reach an understanding.

Shaposhnikov Views Army Reform, Defense Budget

92UM0002A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 38, Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with USSR Minister of Defense Ye. Shaposhnikov, by B. Moseychuk; place and date not given: "Ye. Shaposhnikov: 'We Are Shedding Excess Weight'"]

[Text] **Over a period of many years, the relationship between ARGUMENTY I FAKTY and the USSR Ministry of Defense had been cool, to put it mildly. We think that the reason for this was a particular dislike of our publication on the part of former Minister Yazov. At the same time, according to the latest sociological data, 43.5 percent of military personnel put ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in the most popular category. Thus, the steady stream of letters from them to us regarding the widest variety of problems of military life. The revealed negative facts, certain alarming tendencies, constructive thoughts, and practical proposals aimed at improving the Army—all of these have been perishing without a trace while going through military channels. The questions we asked at the readers' prompting often turned out to be rhetorical—they elicited no answers. The new USSR Minister of Defense, Marshal of the Air Force Ye. Shaposhnikov, has immediately broken a bad tradition: "I am ready to regularly answer the most topical questions through ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. The reform of the Army is impossible without respect for its basis: a man, an individual, a citizen in a military uniform."**

We offer you the first interview—based on the questions asked by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY readers—with USSR Minister of Defense Ye. Shaposhnikov.

[Moseychuk] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, are you aware that the military procuracy, former political organs, and commanding officers not only are not capable of stopping the wave of violence, torment, and suicide in the Army, which are the result of "dedovshchina" [mistreatment and abuse of recruits], "clans," accidents and catastrophes with arms and equipment, but very often themselves contribute to it? Do you know which districts are hazardous to one's life?

[Shaposhnikov] There are no military districts, fleets, or services where tragedies do not happen. A greater number take place in the Turkestan, Far Eastern, and Moscow Districts. More than one-quarter of the casualties fall in the first six months of service. We have no intention to putting up with this any longer. The transition to an 18-month term of service for draftees, the introduction of alternative service, and stricter health criteria used by draft commissions are real steps toward preventing such tragedies. And something else, we need to bring back a principle that has, unfortunately, been forgotten: Each man in the military service answers in full for his actions, and only in person.

[Moseychuk] Many of our readers who had been considered participants of the Great Patriotic War since 1945, since 1988 are no longer considered such. Not too many of them will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the victory. Will they finally receive what is due them?

[Shaposhnikov] There is indeed such an issue. We are still looking into it. I am certain that a fair solution will be found.

[Moseychuk] You say that an officer is a key figure in the Army, but there are now some officers who are forced to stay in the service. For instance, according to our information, since June the Northern Fleet has suspended voluntary discharges due to staff cuts, and officers are offered dishonorable discharges. What kind of input can be expected from a man who is serving a sentence in the Army?

[Shaposhnikov] None. Therefore denial of such a discharge is illegal. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the reluctance of officers to serve in the Army is the result of those phenomena which we will make an effort to root out in the nearest future. It is no secret that for many young and highly skilled officers service promotion is blocked by people who are at an age when they have long deserved the right to rest. Their retirement in strict accordance with the law—I have already given such order—open prospects for growth for the entire service career "chain." In addition, new documents recently adopted by the USSR State Council, upon our presentation, provide officers with real social guarantees: salary, housing, legal protection. Incentives to continue in the service will be provided by real salary increases, exemption from income tax, and removal of moral shackles.

It is another matter when we talk about graduates of military schools. The draft law on the status of the military envisages a mandatory minimum term of service, in proportion to expenditures on education.

[Moseychuk] Since we are talking about cuts, how do you feel about the fact that, in 1991 there were 1991 generals in the Army?

[Shaposhnikov] That would not be too bad, were it true. In reality, it turns out there are one-third more than that. Among them are hundreds who have served too long. Of course, we are not going to fire all of them. I think that about 15 to 20 percent will remain in the service; they are scientists, doctors of science, high-class specialists, whose knowledge and experience we need. I am against a brain drain from the Army. We will get things in order in this respect by the beginning of 1992.

[Moseychuk] In your television speech you called on those who found themselves out of business as a result of the departyization of the Army, to remain calm. How many such people are there, and what awaits them? Will there not be just a change of signs, as has happened many times before?

[Shaposhnikov] The departyization and the liquidation of military-political structures that are taking place in the Army are interconnected but not identical phenomena. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of people will be freed. Some will retire, of course; some will go through certification commissions and officer assemblies, where people know very well who is who. Then we will help some to find jobs outside of the Army, while we will ask people with good skills to stay in the organs of combat preparedness and military and moral-psychological upbringing that are being created now.

This is only one direction of the radical military reform. It will encompass all aspects of defense construction and envisages a fundamental transformation of the Armed Forces. In particular, the Ministry of Defense, in my opinion, should become a civilian agency. Its structure will include committees: military; defense policy; procurement of armaments, military technology, and NIOKR [Scientific Research, Design, and Testing Work]; social and legal protection; manning and personnel; military infrastructure; and others.

[Moseychuk] What are your proposals for the military budget?

[Shaposhnikov] There is a common impression that if it were not for the military-industrial complex, were we not spending money on defense, we would live well. We would have everything. Let me clarify this. In 1990 the proportional share of defense expenditures in our country comprised seven percent of the gross national product. This is not a small sum, of course, but it is comparable with practically all developed countries. And for our Army it is too little. It is another matter how the military budget is spent. In the developed countries of the world, more than half of the total appropriations for military needs is spent on maintenance of the army and 20 to 25 percent on weapons procurement; in our country, these expenditures comprise 30 and 45 percent, respectively. Expenditures on the third sector, research and design, do not meet the needs, either. Think of the Stealth, the high-precision weapon our adversaries have, and I will not have to convince you that we are behind. To implement the planned reforms, to provide a decent material life for officers and to introduce the practice of mixed manning of the troops (draftees and volunteers on a contract basis) until we accomplish the transition to a completely professional army will require tens of billions. Ask for it? We will not get it. There is no place to take it from. We will look for reserves by redistributing existing resources. For instance, shift from the appropriations for arms and military technology procurement into maintenance of the Armed Forces. But, on the whole, the budget should be left alone. Reduction of expenditures on defense may lead to a loss of military-strategic balance.

[Moseychuk] Each subscription campaign has been accompanied by directives down the chain: Who should read what. Yazov's favorite publications were LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, DEN, and the magazine NASH SOVREMENNIK, subscription to which he made mandatory. What will be your directives in this respect?

[Shaposhnikov] There will be none. Let everyone read what he wants.

Lobov Discusses Thrust of Military Reform

PM0110152991 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Oct 91 p 2

[Article by Army General V. Lobov, chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff, preceded by two-paragraph introduction: "They Need Not Be Afraid of Us"]

[Text] Exactly a month ago TRUD published an interview with the newly appointed chief of General Staff, Army General V.N. Lobov, in which he shared his views of military reform. In our rapidly changing life a month is rather a long time. During that period many of the proposals put forward then have been implemented. It has been decided not to draft students and young men who are sick into the Army, the very concept of "nonoperational service" has been eliminated, the reduction of the term of military service to 18 months has been enshrined in all the reform documents, and options for substantial army cuts and the start of its professionalization have been elaborated. Measures have been adopted on the social protection of servicemen and the fundamental solution of the housing problem. Unit commanders' rights in the sphere of economic activity have been considerably widened. Measures have been elaborated to preserve the intellectual and scientific potential of the Armed Forces.

In short, a start has been made. What now? That is the theme of today's article by the chief of General Staff.

Recent events in our country have fundamentally accelerated the processes of the political, economic, and legal reform of society and made it extraordinarily dynamic and truly revolutionary. These processes also had a most direct effect on the defense sphere, necessitating a fundamental review of the principles of military building and a change in our military doctrine.

The so-called war of laws and the sovereignization of the republics, resulting in the dismantling of many of the components and systems of the old, well-oiled (although too much of a burden for the people) military-industrial mechanism, created a whole clutch of problems for the defense sphere. The economic foundations of our state's defense capability are undergoing rapid evolution and can no longer provide for the Armed Forces' needs by the old, conventional methods.

Some of the republics—the Ukraine, Belarus, and others—have stated their wish to have their own armed forces. Questions of the creation of ethnic military doctrines are being worked on. Problems of ensuring the indivisibility of the USSR nuclear potential have arisen. On top of that you have the complex questions of deciding where officers of a particular nationality should

serve, training of cadres for ethnic military formations, financing of Union defense and ethnic armed forces, disposition of strategic nuclear forces, and their control. On the horizon you have the ominous problem of the revision of interrepublic borders. You will agree that in these conditions it is impossible to organize the country's defenses in accordance with the old principles.

At the same time, there have been radical changes in the foreign military-political situation in Europe and the world as a whole, which are also initiating a review of our country's military doctrine under the influence of the new thinking and new realities. I am referring to the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles, the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact Organization, the cessation of the production and the gradual destruction of stocks of chemical weapons, the treaty between the USSR and the United States on a substantial reduction of strategic offensive armaments, the cardinal change in the degree of war danger, and the lowering of the levels of military confrontation. Not to respond to these changes by reviewing many provisions of our doctrine would be to appear ossified and to display conservative military-political thinking. Particularly as the whole world looks apprehensively in our direction, fearing the collisions that could be caused by the current situation in our country, in many respects unpredictable.

It is more important than ever before to provide the quantity and quality of defense that would universally meet the requisite optimal criteria of the sure defense of the state, on the one hand, unequivocally demonstrate its purely defensive character, and, at the same time, be as economical as possible and be no burden for the country, which is in a difficult economic position.

What kind of new doctrine do I, as chief of General Staff, envision? Defensive, of course. And a unified, coalition doctrine. It will be a kind of synthesis of the most principled provisions of the republic doctrines and be created in accordance with a kind of "golden section" method, universally corresponding to common sense, as acknowledged by all the sides. Thus, it becomes clear that a radical review of military doctrine is objectively due and the problem requires most careful and immediate study.

And it must be geared to the establishment of reliable peace guarantees for our people's creative labor. In other words, we must now find methods of organizing the country's defenses that will make them more reliable, cheaper, and more compact than those we have at the moment.

The nature of the established political and economic links between republics urgently demands the elaboration and strict observance of the demands of a unified coalition military doctrine. Certainly, the republic, if it so wishes, will have priority when it comes to the elaboration of a military doctrine. At the Union level, a coordinatimg committee, having collected together all the republic military doctrines, would be able to elaborate a draft coalition military doctrine, which would subsequently be approved by the State Council and ratified by the supreme organs of power in the sovereign states participating in the proposed military union. Of course, the work will require a great deal of effort and time. So the military doctrine that was adopted in May 1987 will operate until the coalition doctrine has been elaborated.

In accordance with the basic postulates of the new doctrine, our military strategy is also going to have to undergo certain changes. The premise must be that our defensive measures will not cause anyone any anxiety, since we do not regard anyone as an actual enemy. By everything we do in the military sphere we have to demonstrate that we will never initiate combat action against anyone, in any circumstances. Except for cases where either we are being attacked or we have to join other democratic states in armed intervention under UN auspices in a region where there is a real threat to peace and the peoples' security.

I believe that in order to carry out these tasks we have to have a comparatively small professional army, plentifully supplied with the most modern, high-quality military equipment.

We must not seek to possess armed forces in excess of those required to prevent war and provide defensive sufficiency. As for the latter, the criterion will be parity (above all in qualitative terms), the level of which will constantly and proportionately fall. This will be a very important task for politicians.

In short, our Armed Forces will be staffed and will be equipped at a level that will enable them, if need be, to repulse any attack from outside. At the moment the Army must have nuclear weapons as well as conventional armaments for that purpose. And it must have nuclear weapons as long as other states' armed forces have them. This arrangement corresponds to the requirements of the deterrence strategy, the purpose of which is to maintain some level of defense capability which will prevent anyone from being tempted to launch a military attack on our country while going unpunished.

Of course, the adoption of the state's new military doctrine and new military strategy objectively and inevitably involves the elaboration of a new military reform concept. It must envisage a thorough reconstruction of the state's defense institution at the military-political, organizational, economic, military-technical, and other levels with the simultaneous elaboration of a reliable and efficient mechanism of collaboration between all-Union and republic organs of military control and strict delimitation of the entire range of functions bestowed on them. This approach was supported in principle during the consultative conference conducted by the USSR Defense Ministry with representatives of the union republics on 10-11 September in Moscow. The Army's new structure can adequately satisfy everyone, and all

the republics will participate in it without the slightest infringement of their legitimate political, economic, and sovereign interests. In fact, it is obvious that a single economic space has to be protected by a single defense space.

What do we regard as the optimal military-political, organizational structure for the unified Armed Forces, which bring ethnic military formations into the overall system? I think, at the Union level, it is a civilian Defense Ministry and the General Staff. They complement one another, collaborate constantly, and are accordingly under mutual control. Liaison and collaboration will be supplemented by relevant organizational structures. We are increasingly coming to the conclusion that the Defense Ministry has to comprise several committees or directorates that will oversee the most topical spheres of military activity. They might be, for example, committees for military policy and economics, equipment and armaments orders. There are also the legal structures, social protection of servicemen, and so on. The Defense Ministry could engage in the training of young people for Army service, deliver conscripts to places of service, and tackle veterans' problems—in fact, the whole range of questions connected with mobilization and demobilization. It would be a good thing if the Defense Ministry were to have the job of organizing the construction of military and civilian facilities for the Army's needs and of supplying the troops, that is, the entire military infrastructure. In order to ensure better coordination of actions and mutual control there could be representatives of the General Staff on the ministry staff and vice versa. And the same throughout the system—from center to local soviets.

It would seem expedient for the Army to be led by a supreme commander in chief in the shape of the president, with an organ under him to which the Armed Forces and their institutions would be subordinate. It would be responsible for combat training and combat readiness, and other matters that fall exclusively within its purview.

At the republic level, obviously, there would be a State Committee for Defense and the commander of forces stationed on its territory. Naturally, the existing system of military districts, which is in a state of organizational upheaval at the moment, will undergo radical changes. It is a paradox, but the president of Russia, where the largest number of military districts is situated, did not have any real power extending to the defense sphere, whereas, for example, in the Ukraine, three people—the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet and the leaders of Lvov and Odessa Oblasts—are members of military councils.

All this has led, at times, to various mistakes in solving questions affecting both the military leaders and the civil authorities. So one possible and expedient way of organizing the common defense system is to redraw the military districts so that their territories coincide with the borders of each republic, whose power structures would participate, through its own military department, in the solution of defense matters in conjunction with the district forces command. The armed forces on the territory of the republic will carry out the job of protecting their external borders, without interfering in their internal affairs, and conducting exercises or maneuvers on the republic's territory on agreement with the Supreme Soviets or the president.

One would like to stress in particular that relations between the troops and the republics where they are stationed must be developed on the strictest legal basis and on the basis of profound respect for one another's rights and duties. That is why it is absolutely essential right now to elaborate the legal status of troops present on the territory of a republic and study most carefully the whole range of questions affecting both sides' interests. It is clear that the personnel of formations and units will be obliged to comply unfailingly with the laws of the republic where they are serving.

Military reform in conditions of new state structures requires substantial adjustments in military-technical policy as well. This policy will certainly rest on a reformed military-economic basis, on the new coalition principles of military-technical provision for the troops carrying out tasks both in the interests of the country as a whole and in the interests of each individual republic. There will have to be a detailed study of the massive range of problems connected both with the overall concept behind the development of new types of armaments and equipment and with the entire infrastructure that provides the backdrop for military-technical policy—from the appropriations procedure and financing of military production to monitoring the legality of the distribution of the finished product in accordance with contractual commitments in market conditions. If the political atmosphere, imbued with the spirit of victorious democracy, fills us with pioneering enthusiasm and provides broad scope for endeavor and initiative, then the economic basis of military reform obviously serves at the moment as an inhibiting factor, due to its critical state. That is why we need more than ever before a commonsense concept that will make it possible in these generallly unfavorable economic conditions to obtain as much as possible for the effective readjustment of our defense institution and a bold quest for solutions that will make it possible to effect a qualitative breakthrough to a really new, new-look army.

Gorbachev Receives Servicemen's Mothers

LD0110203491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1949 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent L. Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)— USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today met with participants in the Congress of the "Soldiers' Mothers of Russia" movement. The importance of this conversation can by judged from the following fact: delegates of the Congress who

had not gotten into the president's office in the Kremlin, every one of them having cut short the session, waited late into the evening for its results near the Spasskiy gate [Kremlin entrance].

The two-hour conversation with the President was cordial, Lyubov Lymar, the Chairman of the movement, told a TASS correspondent when it finished. Perhaps because on this occasion we managed to hold back our emotions, perhaps because since August 1991 we have become different, it proved possible to make the meeting a businesslike and constructive one. We talked about the fact that bullying, injuries and the violation of the elementary human rights of the servicemen are characteristic of the present day Soviet army, and in our opinion there haven't yet been any changes for the better. The mothers of Russia continue to receive "death notices". The hospitals, the psychiatric units, the guardrooms, and the disciplinary batallions are overcrowded with maimed soldiers and sailors.

Mikhail Gorbachev wholly supported the demands laid out in the documents adopted at the congress, the chairman of the movement continued. They talk of the necessity of implementing the following transformations without delay, even before the carrying out of cardinal reform in the USSR armed forces:

Replacing the extraterritorial principle of carrying out military service with a territorial principle.

The Ministry of Defense should allow broad access to military units by emergency response groups made up of deputies of all levels.

Forming a group of representatives of the committees of soldiers' mothers and the public, human rights activists and parents, under their leadership.

Setting up an independent investigative group under the RSFSR procuracy to review all criminal cases concerning the death of servicemen.

Paying out once-only compensation to families of servicemen killed in peacetime, according to international norms.

Eliminating the military procuracy, military tribunals, and disciplinary battalions.

Not calling up youths from other republics for compulsary military service on Russian territory.

The conversation with the president, Lyubov Lymar said, also concerned a split in the "Soldiers' Mothers of Russia" movement. Unfortunately, she stressed, people who frequently have no regard for a mother's grief, and who use her tears for their own purposes, are attaching themselves to this sacred and good cause. The congress has approached the USSR president with a request to annul the decree on the appointment of A.A.Alekseyev as chairman of the committee for the affairs of Armed Forces and members of their families, because he does not have the professional and moral qualities required for this post. And we have found support here: M.S.Gorbachev promised to look into this question. In a word, we approached the president with maternal grief and we have been given hope, Lyubov Lymar said in conclusion.

Certification of Political Officers Examined

PM0110153091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On the Certification of Officers From the Disbanded Military-Political Organs"]

[Text] With the aim of determining the future service of officers from disbanded military-political organs and party structures in the USSR Armed Forces, USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov has issued a directive ordering that the certification of officers from the disbanded military-political organs and full-time party workers of all components be carried out before 1 December 1991 as follows: to command, staff, engineering-technical, and rear services posts provided that there are vacancies, and to posts in the structures dealing with personnel work when new staff allocations are received. It was proposed that during the certification process, directives on the features of work with military cadres at the present stage be followed.

In order to organize and carry out certification, lists of generals, admirals, and officers of the military-political structure are to be drawn up in the relevant personnel organs. The lists will not include officers who have reached the maximum age for active military service, whose length of service entitles them to a pension from the USSR Ministry of Defense, or who have applied for a discharge. The aforesaid persons are put forward to be released into the reserve (retirement) according to the established procedure.

Immediate chiefs are instructed to carry out a preliminary conversation with the person being certified. The service prospects of officers, generals, and admirals subject to certification are to be examined at sessions of Officers Assembly councils, whose recommendations are to be ratified at Officers' Assemblies.

At sessions of the permanently operating certification commissions, as a rule in the presence of those being certified, findings will be presented concerning their future role on the basis of the recommendation of the Officers Assembly. The final decision on the expediency of the further service role of each officer, general, or admiral is taken by the relevant commissions on the disbandment of military-political organs.

The decisions of these commissions are brought to the attention of those being certified and recorded formally in a protocol with an appendix listing the generals, admirals, and officers from military-political structures subject to certification in connection with the disbandment of the USSR Armed Forces military-political organs, and the said document is considered the basis for

the preparation of the relevant order. Transcripts from the protocols from the sessions are filed in the servicemen's personal files.

Complaints on questions of certification are to be examined by the relevant higher commissions on the disbandment of military-political organs. Those being certified who have filed such complaints are granted the right to be present at all the sessions of these commissions.

During the certification, commanders and chiefs at all levels and members of the permanently operating certification commissions and relevant commissions on the disbandment of the military-political organs are instructed to proceed on the basis of the assessment of the professional qualities displayed by those being certified during the pre-certification period. Special attention is to be paid to the assessment of their general military training, practical, organizational, and moral qualities, and their ability to apply the basic recommendations of modern education science and psychology in their service.

The findings and conclusions on the further service of the person being certified are to take into account his personal desire to continue military service in the USSR Armed Forces.

If the need arises, the expediency and timing of retraining courses (classes) for this category in accordance with the outlined role of each such person are to be determined.

The relevant commissions on the disbandment of military-political organs are to adopt decisions on the results of the certification of officers depending on the posts they previously occupied. Apart from the the USSR Ministry of Defense Commission (on whose work KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported), analogous commissions are being formed under the commanders in chief of branches of USSR Armed Forces; commanders and commanding officers (chiefs) of airborne troops, military construction units, the USSR Ministry of Defense Central Road Construction Directorate, and the railroad troops; commanders of district troops, groups of forces, and fleets; commanders of armies (flotillas); commanders of corps (squadrons), naval bases, and combined units; and chiefs of higher educational establishments and scientific research organizations.

The commissions on the disbandment of military-political organs formed in accordance with the USSR defense minister's Order No. 418 1991 are headed by one of the deputies of the commander in chief, commander, or commanding officer (chief).

People's deputies who are servicemen, military lawyers, former military-political workers from the leadership personnel who have undergone certification, and representatives of local organs of state administration may (by agreement) be invited to the sessions of these commissions, for consultations and recommendations.

Monitoring of the certification process is entrusted to the USSR Ministry of Defense Commission on the Disbandment of Military-Political Organs and the USSR deputy defense minister for cadres.

Half of Defense Industry Output for Civilian Needs

LD0210103891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] Half of the Soviet defense industry's output is for civilian needs. For example, all television, radio, and photographic equipment and sewing and washing machines produced in the country are produced by the defense industry enterprises. It also produces half of all motorcycles and vacuum cleaners. (Viktor Krasavtsev), a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the head of a defense industry enterprise, cited this data in an interview with a Russian Information Agency correspondent. He stressed that though these figures are secret, he does not think they should be. (Krasavtsev) reported that it was only in the defense industry of all the industries that a growth of goods production was noted in the first half of this year. However, today the defense industry faces the task of conversion. According to experts' calculations, at least R40 billion will be required for this, and this sum is not available.

Estonia

KGB Chief Cited on Cooperation With USSR

LD0110132591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] A new agreement between Estonian government leader Savisaar and Chairman of the USSR KGB Bakatin is being drafted. This is what Rein Sillar, chairman of the KGB which used to operate in Estonia, told the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE. According to him the procedure for handing over to the Republic of Estonia some of the KGB's archive materials and some of its special means will be specified in the agreement.

In Rein Sillar's opinion one should not start using special means until Estonia has created its own secret service. Rein Sillar sees future cooperation between the USSR, the Russian, and the Estonian secret services primarily as fighting against terrorism. As far as lists of KGB collaborators are concerned, however, Rein Sillar has no intention of handing them over to any government commission.

Right-Wing Parties Form Electoral Union

LD0110211191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] The Estonian News Agency ETA reports that four right-wing parties formed an electoral union today. It will bear the name of Isamaa [Fatherland]. At a ceremony in the Kalevipoeg Hall on Toompea, an agreement to this end was signed by representatives of the Estonian Conservative People's Party, the Estonian Christian Democratic Party, the Estonian Christian Democratic Union, and the Estonian Republican Assembly Party. It was noted at the signing of the agreement that new elections are probably to be expected in the coming spring or summer. For this reason now is the right time to start preparations.

This electoral union—having chosen the cornflower as its symbol—wants to rely on four main principles: an ethnic state is the only possible form for a full-blooded existence of a nation; the state and the government are the people's servants and not their masters; society is as free as its members; the lower the taxes the freer and more enterprising is a person.

Organization for Future Talks Discussed

OW0110200491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1415 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The council attached to the head of the Estonian parliament met in Tallinn under Arnold Ruutel's chairmanship on Tuesday to discuss organizational matters pertaining to the future talks with the Soviet Union.

Premier Edgar Savisaar informed the council that the government had concluded a package of provisional agreements concerning organization of Estonian-Soviet talks.

Mr. Ruutel said he had had telephone conversations with President Mikhail Gorbachev and the chief Soviet negotiator Anatoliy Sobchak.

The council will continue debates during its next session on Monday, October 7, with a view to working out suggestions concerning Estonia's negotiations with the Soviet Union.

'Radio Tartu' Begins 24 Hour Broadcasts

OW0110194591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The newspaper "Rahva Haal" reports that on October 1 the Estonian service of the "Radio Liberty" will begin broadcasting programs on the frequences of the third channel of the Estonian radio (USW).

The newspaper also informs about the emergence of a new local radio station in the second largest city of Estonia, Tartu. "Radio Tartu" broadcasts on ultra-short waves round the clock.

A BF's [BALTFAX]'s correspondent reports from Tallinn that Estonia is the only Baltic republic without an independent radio station broadcasting from the capital. At the same time, a number of local radio stations are operating in such Estonian town as Voru, Viliandi, etc.

Military Airfield To Be Closed

OW0210004391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A military airfield near the resort city of Pjarnu in Estonia that is used by scramblers will be closed soon, in accordance with an agreement reached October 1 in Tallinn Estonia's Premier Savisaar and Air Defence Commander General Anatoliy Ivanov. Their meeting covered issues pertaining to the withdrawal of air defense troops from Estonia.

Latvia

Godmanis: We Will Only Join Economic Union

OW0110122791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1030 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with BF [BALTFAX] Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis said that he had decided

to attend an economic conference in Alma-Ata because of his "interest in positions of delegations taking part in the event". He drew a BF's correspondent's attention to the fact that he is virtually the only official representative of the Baltic at the conference.

"Our membership in a Union of any type is excluded. We could only conclude a specific agreement with an economic union as a whole, of course, if it is created", Mr. Godmanis pointed out. He also pledged that Latvia will implement the economic agreements it had separately signed with the republics.

Speaking about trade with the Soviet Union, he noted that, as the experience of East Germany showed, sharp transition to the world prices is likely to be "somewhat painful" for both sides. "However, such transition to new prices is inevitable, including to those on agricultural products", Mr. Godmanis stressed.

He added that he does not believe that the ruble can be normalized only through the production of huge amount of goods, as "some economists" suggest. The Latvian Premier explained that privatization in many of the Union republics goes too slowly. Therefore, most of the Union's industries will remain state-owned.

In the opinion of Mr. Godmanis, the Baltics will continue to buy raw materials mostly "in the East" (in the eastern republics of the Soviet Union - BF). "But we are ready to turn to other countries, in particular, the third world", he pointed out.

Agriculture Official: Land Reform in First Stage

OW0110194391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1415 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Voldemars Strikis, head of the Latvian parliament's committee on agriculture, has told BF [BALTFAX] that Latvia is going through the first stage of a land reform whereby land is transferred to citizens without rights of ownership.

The next stage will see the passing of a package of laws on land ownership. The basic principle will be the same: land will belong to Latvian citizens only. Preliminary estimates say the first stage may last for about 15 months and end early in 1993.

According to V. Strikis, next year 40% of arable land will belong to individuals, 50% to cooperatives, and 10% to the state.

Janis Dinevicz Appointed Chief Moscow Negotiator

OW0110200291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1415 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Latvian Republic appointed the Popular Front faction leader Janis Dinevicz chief Latvian negotiator at the Moscow talks.

On Wednesday, Mr. Dinevicz will leave for the Soviet capital to meet with his Soviet opposite number, Mr. Aleksandr Yakovlev.

A member of the foreign affairs committee of the Latvian parliament, Indulis Berzins said now that the USSR had recognized Latvian independence, the need for withdrawing Soviet troops from the republic came to the fore.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Comments on Political Developments

PM0110144391 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English (undated)

[Interview titled "My Republic Has Embarked on a New Era,' Claims Vytautas Landsbergis"; "abridged" translation provided by IAN PRESS RELEASE from SOYUZ No 37]

[Text]

"MY REPUBLIC HAS EMBARKED ON A NEW ERA"
CLAIMS VYTAUTAS LANDSBERGIS

Landsbergis: Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic; born October 18, 1932 in Kaunas. Musicologist, Ph.D. in Art Studies, (former) Professor at the Vilnius Conservatory. Has written books about the poet Ciurlionis. Since November 1988 has been Chairman of the Board of the Sejm of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika "Sajudis".

Has been elected People's Deputy of the USSR. Was elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic on March 11, 1990.

Has two daughters and a son; wife Grazina teaches at a conservatory.

Vytautas Landsbergis talks to Abov Julikyan, a special correspondent for Soyuz magazine:

QUESTION: Mr. Landsbergis, you will agree that divorce is always a painful experience. What is the relationship between your republic and the Centre at the moment? Has Moscow laid down any ultimatum type demands? Do you think the Centre could stay here while it pretends to withdraw?

ANSWER: Our divorce with the Soviet Union, to use your phraseology, has been going exactly the way it should. It is true, however, that we would be happy to speed it up a bit. Nor do we have any suspicions that Moscow will only pretend to leave. We are hoping that we have dotted all "i's" where our independence is concerned. We haven't worked for our independence so

long and so hard only to have someone boss us around one more time. There is no more pressure on our republic from Moscow. The "Iron Curtain" is no more. We are planning to sign inter-state agreements with all the republics which were once part of the Soviet Union. We have defined our relationship with Russia. We are not going to ignore the cultural, political and economic ties we have formed over decades with the other republics. All this is very important for us.

QUESTION: What will be the procedure for exchanging Ambassadors with other countries, including with the Soviet sovereign states? As far as I understand you have a shortage of diplomats?

ANSWER: Yes, we don't have enough properly-trained diplomats. But this is a matter of time. We'll train our diplomats and, I think, we'll manage. It is going to be easier to find diplomats for dealing with the East rather than with the West. Where our relationship with the Soviet Union is concerned I think it will be conducted at the level of missions. A new epoch is beginning for my republic. I wish it a happy road towards free Europe.

QUESTION: Mr. Landsbergis, what progress has been made on negotiations with Moscow concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, divisions of the USSR Interior Ministry and the OMON special militia units from Lithuania?

ANSWER: We are currently dealing with the issue of borders and customs. Things have been going fairly smoothly. No conflict situations have arisen so far. The Department for the Defence of the Territory has already begun to guard the state border between the Lithuanian Republic and the Republic of Poland, and other borders which have until now been guarded by the USSR border troops.

On the Soviet troops withdrawal, I think it will begin soon. The military commissariats of the USSR Defence Ministry are being abolished all across Lithuania. I think it would make sense to keep some of the services in place. We will agree on what we should do next.

QUESTION: With the Soviet troops currently withdrawing from Eastern Europe, in particular from Germany, the latter has undertaken to help provide housing for Soviet servicemen within the USSR. Will Lithuania undertake similar commitments? Are any talks being conducted with the military to this effect?

ANSWER: No, no such talks are being conducted. Nor are we going to engage in any such talks. We didn't invite the Soviet troops. It was up to Germany to assume such commitments. After all Germany did start the war against the USSR and its assistance is logical from a moral perspective. Lithuania has no such obligations with respect to the USSR. To build housing for Soviet troops is something for the Soviet military to rack their brains over.

QUESTION: Could you please say a few words about what happened in Lithuania during the coup?

ANSWER: We quickly took appropriate measures to defend several likely targets and once again announced our program for civil disobedience. On August 19 the troops seized the radio transmitter in Sitkunai, the radio and television headquarters in Kaunas. They sought to deprive us of communications and to deliver the crucial blow. They had prepared the blow, and we were waiting for them to strike. We thought there was no avoiding it when the news broke that the assault on the Russian parliament was scheduled for six o'clock. We also learned that simultaneously or immediately after it the Lithuanian state structures would be stormed and that the legally elected power bodies would be disbanded. Sajudis called on people to be ready to work in the context of a military coup d'etat. To avoid a bloodbath we suspended the operation of all customs points in Lithuania. We kept the customs point in Lazdijai at the Polish border working. I called Boris Yeltsin to express my support to the Russian parliament.

QUESTION: Mr. Landsbergis, You have stated recently that Lithuania has offered to host an international trial to expose the crimes committed by the Bolsheviks since 1917. Don't you think this is an act of revenge and that the Lithuanian authorities are about to indulge in reprisals? Now that the democrats have ascended to power could they crack down on their opponents?

ANSWER: No, we are not going to do what the Bolsheviks once did. But we do want to stage a trial. It's not individual crimes, if even major ones, that matters. It's the criminal system, the ideology that justified the system. It should be publicly condemned, otherwise people may fear that may be a backlash.

QUESTION: Please comment on the rumours concerning massive arrests of communist party members in Lithuania?

ANSWER: The rumours have nothing to do with reality. Just one person has been arrested who is a member of the Central Committee of what I could refer to as a Stalinist Communist Party. He is guilty of instigation activities during the January 1991 events in Lithuania and of calling for violently toppling the legitimately elected bodies of power. He has been released after a series of interrogation sessions. This is an example of how communists are being "harassed" here. However there will be no communist party in Lithuania. We have requested the military to extradite Central Committee officials who are hiding at military garrisons. the law-enforcement agencies are hunting for people who supported the plotters.

QUESTION: What is going to happen to the OMON in Lithuania?

ANSWER: They must lay down their arms, admit their guilt and reunite with their families. what will happen to them afterwards should be decided in court. Some of

them have been making threats and presenting ultimatums, which isn't very reasonable. We hope that not all of them are criminals. Many must have been fallen for adventuristic promises. Those involved in murders aren't to be pardoned, otherwise people won't understand us.

QUESTION: Are your colleagues in the parliament pressuring you in any way?

ANSWER: No they aren't. There is political rivalry going on in the parliament. Not that it is the life-or-death kind of rivalry. Rather it is a case of competition between conflicting views. As the chairman of the parliament, I am in the midst of the competitors and I need to bring these people together and search for optimal solutions and compromise scenarios.

Vagnorius, U.S. Envoy View Political Scene

LD0110131591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpts] U.S. Ambassador Kenneth Blackwell was received by Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius today. The government secretary, Kestutis Cilinskas, is talking about the results of this meeting:

[Begin Cilinskas recording] [passage omitted] Prime Minister Vagnorius gave a detailed description of the situation and the position of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania on these issues during the meeting. The United States supports the right of various nationality groups within the states to use their own language and to preserve their cultural values and their cultural heritage. However, according to Blackwell's point of view separate states should not be set up within the states on the basis of nationality features. This leads to tensions and impedes the functioning of the state. Basically, the point of view of the head of the Lithuanian Government and that of the guest on all these issues was the same. [passage omitted].

[Cilinskas continues] This issue was also discussed. It was pointed out that the dismissal of the local governments was based on the laws [of this republic] and such cases could occur not only in the rayons in which it did occur but it could also occur in any rayon if the representatives of power of these rayons become engaged, as it was in this case, in criminal activities, for example, in this case the putch in the Soviet Union and an attempt to stage a coup in Lithuania too.

Concerning the election, the government has issued a decree [and sent it] to the Supreme Council, requesting that these elections should be held as soon as it is technically possible, probably at the begining of next year. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Dalai Lama, Landsbergis Hold Press Conference

OW0110234591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a joint press conference of the Dalai Lama and Lithuania's parliamentay leader Landsbergis, both participants touched on China's note of protest to Lithuania.

As is known, during the runup to the Dalai Lama's visit to Lithuania, the Chinese authorities said that they opposed his visits to countries that have diplomatic relations with China, including Lithuania.

The Dalai Lama said at the press conference that no matter what country he visits, China invariably sends a note of protest there. Tibet was annexed by China and has been struggling to win independence for 40 years.

Mr. Langsbergis said that "he had been ashamed of hearing the Dalai Lama make excuses for the possible implications of his visit for Lithuania." His visit is "a great honour," said Mr. Lansbergis. The Lithuanian parliamentary leader also said that back in April 1990, the Dalai Lama had supported Lithuania's declaration of independence. Lithuania proclaimed its independence on March 11, 1990.

Steps To Establish Radio, TV Stations Detailed

LD0110152291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in English 0000 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "DX" program; presented by Zigitas Zilionis]

[Text] There are many new radio and TV stations emerging in Lithuania at present, so today I decided to tell you about the procedure which has to be followed by individuals and companies which want to establish such stations.

The first step is to get a mass media license. There is no problem to do this as new Lithuanian laws allow everybody to found a newspaper, a broadcasting station, or even a news agency. You must apply for such a license to the Press Control Agency, and after paying an appropriate fee you get the licence. Incidentally, the fee is R1,000 at present. The second step is to apply for a transmitting licence to the State Electric Communications Inspection [SECI]. To understand this procedure better, let me first of all describe the Soviet procedure of acquiring a transmitting license. This procedure was valid in Lithuania during the years of annexation and is still valid in the Soviet Union.

First of all, the authority which wants to open a new radio or TV station in the Soviet Union must apply to the SECI of the USSR for a frequency assignment. SECI examines parameters of the planned transmitter and recommends the frequency or TV channel. The applying authority then must write to the headquarters of the

military district in which the transmitter is to be installed and ask if the Army is not against the proposed frequency or TV channel. The military find out if the frequencies in question are not occupied by their services, and if not they issue a written consent to let the applying authority occupy the frequency. Naturally, the military may say no. They do it quite often. However, they never explain the reason for this. In case of a refusal, the applicant must again apply to the SECI for another frequency or TV channel. In case of the consent of the military, the applicant should also write to SECI for another permission to purchase and install the transmitter. Generally, SECI issues such a permission without any obstacles, but it should be noted that the only authorities which are allowed to possess and operate broadcast transmitters in the Soviet Union are the state-owned radio and TV transmitting centers. I am not quite sure about the reaction of the Soviet SECI in case of an application by some other company.

After the transmitter is installed and adjusted to antenna equivalent, it may go on the air. Here, too, the permission of the SECI is needed. It is called a transmitting license, and it is the final document on this road. After it is issued, the new station may begin regular broadcasting at once or after a test transmission period. This depends on the station itself.

This procedure had to be followed until recently in Lithuania as well, but earlier this month—as I told you in the last "DX" program—a protocol was signed in Moscow legalizing only Lithuanian transmitting licenses on the Lithuanian territory. From now on, there will be only two steps of the procedure at the Lithuanian SECI.

Firstly, the applicant, be it a governmental body, commercial company, or private person, should apply for a frequency assignment and permission to purchase and install or even build the transmitter. All this is included in a single document issued by the inspection. It is valid for one year. After the transmitter is installed and adjusted, a transmitter operation license is issued. SECI takes a fee for this permission, which depends on the transmitter power and the category—for example, TV, radio, cable TV, relay transmitter, and so on. However, in certain cases the inspection may issue only a test transmission license in order to practically determine interference that the new transmitter can cause to the already existing transmitters or to determine the reception area. If everything is okay, the new station is given a permanent transmitting license; if not, SECI may order it to change certain transmitting characteristics—for example frequency offset, antenna directivity and polarization, and so on.

In our future "DX" programs, I will be informing you about the new radio and TV stations in our coun[illegible] and also about cable television developments.

Procuracy Receives January Events Documents

LD0210055791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 1 Oct (TASS)—The documents in the criminal case, 40 volumes, collated by staff at the USSR Procuracy during investigations into the bloody events in Vilnius in January of this year, have been handed over to representatives of the General Procuracy of the Lithuanian Republic. As is well known, 14 people died when soldiers seized the republican television center building and the television tower.

The agreement to hand over the documents of the criminal case was reached at a meeting between Arturas Paulauskas and Nikolay Trubin, general procurators of the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR, which was held at the end of lat week.

In the opinion of the leader of the Lithuanian Procuracy, which he expressed in an interview for republican television, the agreement should facilitate "rapid investigation of the case and bringing charges against the culprits".

Arturas Paulauskas said that the leaders of the USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic procuracies promise to continue to help, above all in questioning officials party to the January events who are currently resident or in hiding in Moscow and other cities of the Soviet Union.

The general procurator reported that a large group of investigators is to leave for Moscow this week to begin questioning Kryuchkov, Yazov, Varennikov and other officials who are under arrest and who were directly involved in the tragedy in Vilnius. Arturas Paulauskas said that according to the data of the operational services of Lithuania's law enforcement bodies, the wanted leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania—Mykolas Burokevicius, first secretary of the Central Committee, Central Committee Secretary Algimantas Naudziunas, and Juozas Jermolavicius, head of the Ideology Department of the Central Committee—have taken refuge in Moscow. Warrants for their arrests as suspects in organizing the January tragedy in Vilnius and in other antistate actions have already been issued.

Investigation Pending for TV Center Officials

OW0110235091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eight Lithuanian Procurator's Office staffers came to Moscow on October 1 to interroate more than 100 persons suspected of complicity in masterminding the crackdown in Vilnius on January 13 when a storm of the TV centre by the military led to civilian victims, said

head of the delegation Juozas Gaudutis to BF [BALTFAX]. He also said that the Russian staffers plan to help their Lithuanian colleagues who want to interrogate high-ranking Soviet officials and the arrested coup leaders.

Customs Checks Begin at Vilnius Railroad Station

PM0210083491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Stroganov report: "Open Your Case!"]

[Text] Vilnius—Several passengers leaving Vilnius railroad station for cities of the USSR have already suffered distress: A customhouse has been opened here. Others have so far been lucky: Due to a personnel shortage the customs officials covered only one platform the first day, and on the others the passengers escaped being checked. But it is only a matter of time.

The inspection begins an hour before departure. You can take no more than 200 rubles' worth of goods out of the Lithuanian Republic and a maximum of only two of each item. You can take out goods exceeding the limit, however, but you will then have to pay duty of two times their cost. You cannot avoid the customs inspection as the conductress will check to see if you have the requisite stamp on your ticket.

Supreme Soviet

Government Responds to Criticism of Its Work

PM0210090391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

["RSFSR Council of Ministers Resolution 'On Certain Questions of RSFSR Council of Ministers' Activity'"]

[Text] On 20 September 1991, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet deemed unsatisfactory the RSFSR Council of Ministers' work in implementing measures from the anticrisis program and the program to revive the Russian countryside. The RSFSR Government has taken no fundamental steps to implement reform, which has exacerbated the republic's socioeconomic position.

In violation of the procedure laid down by law the leadership of the RSFSR Council of Ministers has adopted a number of resolutions and orders—specifically, on the granting of tax and other concessions to various organizations.

Exhaustive measures have not been taken to overcome the resistance shown by certain Union ministries, departments, and the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy to implement the decisions reached by the RSFSR president, RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and Russian Government aimed at securing the economic basis for RSFSR sovereignty.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers /resolves/ [word between slantlines published in boldface]:

1. To note that decisions made by the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy shall come into force on RSFSR territory only if approved by the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

2. To note that RSFSR Council of Ministers resolutions and orders adopted in violation of the procedure laid down by RSFSR presidential decree no. 58 of 16 August 1991 "On Certain Questions of the Organization of the Work of the RSFSR Council of Ministers" shall be deemed null and void.

The RSFSR Ministry of Justice shall present within the space of a week a list of the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolutions and orders adopted in violation of the established procedure.

The RSFSR Ministry of Finance shall prepare within the space of a week a ruling on the justifiability of the concessions granted under RSFSR Council of Ministers decisions and liable to lead to additional expenditure and a falloff in budget revenue.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers shall examine the relevant proposals from the RSFSR Ministries of Justice and Finance within 10 days.

3. Implementation of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR presidential decisions to secure the economic basis for RSFSR sovereignty shall be expedited.

With the participation of other RSFSR ministries and committees the RSFSR Ministry of Economics shall submit to the government within two weeks proposals to clarify the economic reform programs—including the agrarian program—and a plan for specific measures to implement them.

4. Within the space of a week the RSFSR's position shall be prepared on the political and economic aspects of Russia's participation in an economic Union and the proposals on the structure and functioning of the Interrepublic Economic Committee shall be examined on the basis of the powers which could be delegated to the RSFSR at interrepublic level.

5. With the participation of other ministries and committees the RSFSR Ministry of Justice shall within a week submit to the RSFSR Council of Ministers for subsequent submission to the RSFSR president proposals on reorganizing the RSFSR Council of Ministers and its apparatus in the light of the new economic and political situation.

[Signed] O. Lobov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

Legislature Seeks 'Practical Measures' on Deficit

LD0210093191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] The Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet instructed the Russian Council of Ministers to work out practical measures to reduce the budget deficit to ensure that various measures receive regular financing and that the execution of republican budget and money disbursements is increasingly supervised. A resolution on executing the Russian republican budget over eight months and the budget on the fourth quarter points out the following: The Council of Ministers is not achieving adequate results in its work to improve the revenue basis of the republican budget nor ensuring the necessary economy regime in its expenditure of funds.

Silayev Replacement 'Should Not Be Delayed'

PM0110135691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by parliamentary correspondent G. Shipitko: "Russian Parliament Concerned Over Situation in Republic"]

[Text] Deputies from the Russian parliament are working in committees and commissions 23 September.

G. Zhukov, chairman of the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Self-Management, believes that new administrative structures should be set up at all levels of

authority as soon as possible. In response to a question on possible candidates to replace I. Silayev as head of the Russian Government, G. Zhukov said that the matter has gone beyond personalities. Although O. Lobov, current first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, and G. Yavlinskiy, deputy to I. Silayev in the new government structure, are frequently labeled as candidates. The main point lies elsewhere. It has nothing to do with constructing executive powers vertically and horizontally, but with carrying out rational economic reforms. Without them, no appointments will produce results.

I put the same question to V. ispravnikov, member of the Committee for Questions of Economic Reform and Ownership. He is known in the Russian parliament as an advocate of resolute reforms and heads the group for elaborating the procedure and mechanism to implement the package of laws on economic reform. We are about to finish preparing the legislative normative acts, V. Ispravnikov explains. They include laws on privatization, joint stock companies, and a number of others which, we believe, will allow for the creation of market relations within the republic in a civilized manner. The main principle is this: We must act resolutely inasmuch as the situation today is approaching economic collapse.

The appointment of the head of the Russian Government should not be delayed. There is talk of several candidates. Apart from O. Lobov and S. Fedorov, there is also Yu. Skokov, who is currently state adviser to the president, but was I. Silayev's deputy in the past. I consider periods of government inaction in conducting reforms to be frankly dangerous.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Press Center let it be known that there was a Presidium session yesterday at which a number of questions were discussed. They included the draft laws which are being proposed for discussion at the next joint session of parliament chambers; a discussion on the results of the soviets' work during the anticonstitutional coup 19-21 August; candidacies for RSFSR representatives to the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as the restoration of Sverdlovsk's and Zagorsk's historical names.

Release of POW's in Afghanistan, Pakistan Urged

LD0210080591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0651 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Oct (TASS)—In connection with the cessation of weapons supplies from the USSR to Afghanistan, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has instructed the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to join with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to resume preparations for talks in Afghanistan and Pakistan on the release of Soviet servicemen. The resolution adopted by the RSFSR parliament also proposes the conclusion of an appropriate agreement with the Afghan mojahedin and foreign representatives as soon as possible.

Presidium Overrules Decision on Oil Venture

LD0110151691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has deemed at odds with Russian legislation, a resolution by the republican Council of Ministers of 24 August 1991 on creating a Russian-North American state joint stock company, (?Roskan), to which 16 oil fields, three gas fields, three coal fields, and peat and sapropel fields are to be transferred for long-term use.

Federation Affairs

Conflict in Silayev Union, Republic Roles Viewed

PM0110143991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Sep 91 p 1

[By Vitaliy Kovalenko under the "Government" rubric: "Suspicion Is Not the Best Adviser in Work. Notes From the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers Session"]

[Text] Sitting on two chairs is uncomfortable. An old truism, proved many times over, yet again and again people continue to disregard it. The latest example of this is the appointment of Ivan Silayev as leader of the Committee for Operational Management of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] National Economy. As we know, a USSR presidential decree on this matter has been signed. We also know, however, about the understanding that has been reached with the RSFSR president that until such time as real Union committee structures are formed, Silayev will also continue to perform the duties of Russian premier. The timeframe for this has been set for one month, and therefore, Ivan Stepanovich must combine two identities in one during this period.

The awkwardness of combining two identities became clear only yesterday, when a real scene occurred at the republic Council of Ministers session. Mikhail Maley, chairman of the State Committee for the Administration of State Property, read a letter from Silayev to Boris Yeltsin in which Silayev confesses that it would be expedient to suspend temporarily the validity of a number of RSFSR acts until an appropriate understanding between the republics has been established. The essence of these decrees and instructions from the Russian president concerns the transfer of enterprises and organizations under Union jurisdiction to RSFSR control; the handing over to the republic of buildings belonging to the former Cabinet of Ministers and Union departments, the NOVOSTI news agency, the customs service, and the system of financial and currency operations; and the cessation of the activity on Russian territory of the Union Ministries of Power and Electrification, the Coal Industry, the Petroleum and Gas

Industry, the Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry, and the "Gazprom" and "Neftegazstroy" concerns.

Commenting on the letter, Ivan Silayev stressed, first of all, that it did not represent his personal opinion but the position of the committee of which he was merely the head—although as he saw it, it would indeed make sense to review a number of decisions considering that Russia was not seceding from the Union but remaining within it. Silayev repeated this idea—if we stay in the Union"—on several occasions, appealing for attention to be focused on a specific analysis of the Union committee's proposals and on formulating the republic's Council of Ministers' position.

How events developed after this I cannot say, because the subsequent Council of Ministers session took place "behind closed doors." From fragments of conversation in the smoking room it was possible to conclude that emotions had run high during the discussion.

I will not venture to make a judgment on the essence of the proposals laid down in the letter; they are too serious for me to pass comment on the strength of "hearsay." There can be no doubt, however, that the Union committee—however big it is, whatever its powers are, and whoever heads it—will certainly have disagreements with the republic's Council of Ministers. There is no way that the interests of the center and the republics will coincide entirely. In the past, when the center was "foreign," this was obvious to everybody and no ambiguities arose. But today, when "our" Silayev has gone off to the Union committee, many people have even started to regard the Union Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy as an extension of the Russian Council of Ministers owing to its inertia. But this is not the case.

The drama of the current situation is encapsulated in the fact that this objective reality finds concrete expression in a single person—yesterday Silayev and his republic team were making decisions about transferring Union property to Russian jurisdiction, whereas today he is proposing that the implementation of these decisions be slowed down. Yesterday, he wrote Yeltsin a letter about this, but today he is holding a Council of Ministers session that plans to disagree with the very clauses in the letter that do not conform with the radical reforms in Russia. If we are talking about being objective, then right now this must be hardest of all for Silayev, because I do not believe he will betray the interests of Russia. What other test of loyalty can there be after this year that he has lived through with Russia?

But the stumbling block today is the way things are perceived emotionally, a readiness to suspect anybody and everybody that has been nurtured for decades. Because if we get down to basics, this situation in itself patently does not merit the fuss that has been made. However serious the contents of the letter, it is merely a proposal that the interests of an organ of Union administration be borne in mind while it is still at the formative stage. But the job of the president of a sovereign republic (together with the Council of Ministers, of course) is to agree to some things, to disagree with others, and maybe to nip in the bud anything that does not conform with the republic's interests. Meanwhile, the main thing to remember is that the other side is equally entitled to its interests and is entitled to seek to realize them.

New Republic's Interior Minister Interviewed

PM0110111391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Andrey Fedorovich Dunayev, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Minister of Internal Affairs, by correspondent V. Rudnev; place and date not given: "Andrey Dunayev: My Chief Duty Is To Protect People's Lives, Rights, and Property"]

[Text] [Rudnev] Andrey Fedorovich, congratulations are usually accompanied by expressions of delight. Our congratulations to you are accompanied by a degree of concern: You have inherited a very heavy burden. Russia appears to be the leading republic in the crime stakes. Indeed, the Moscow militia is in a crisis. Where will you begin?

[Dunayev] In Moscow. It is the capital of Russia. Moreover, there is so much emotion concerning the post of chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration that it demands our constant attention. The pace of the Russian militia's movement toward the ideals of democracy and rule of law will depend on how things go here.

[Rudnev] Let us leave lofty ideals aside for the moment and talk about the sins of the world.

[Dunayev] You are right. The militia is in a more wretched state in Moscow than anywhere else in Russia. Don't be deceived by the fine buildings at 38 Petrovka Street. Behind this facade there are the militia "hovels." As for equipment, all the Mercedes and BMW's are there merely to escort the top people. You have battered Moskviches and Ulyanovsk Truck Plant rattletraps to protect Muscovites.

As for social and consumer facilities, thousands of Moscow militia officers are packed into hostels or rent part of a room on a private basis. They do not construct creches and kindergartens for our children or dispensaries and recreational facilities for personnel. We have to beg for everything, not to mention pay, which is totally inadequate when you consider the arduous and dangerous conditions in which they serve.

[Rudnev] So the new Main Internal Affairs Administration leadership will also have to start by tackling mundane matters?

[Dunayev] The current conditions are such that the Main Internal Affairs Administration leadership has to tackle several tasks simultaneously—I stress, simultaneously. You have the fight against crime, the maintenance of public order, and cadres. Unless we provide Muscovites with reliable protection against hooligans, thieves, and rapists, we will not win the voters' trust. Without support from city hall, we will not resolve social and consumer problems. The cadre question depends on it: If we do not have strong, smart men in the militia, we will lose the war against crime.

[Rudnev] Do you have a specific plan to resolve Moscow's problems?

[Dunayev] Yes. It is coordinated with and backed by the Russian Government, the mayor of Moscow, and the initiator of the idea—USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V. Barannikov. Incidentally, the plan is not just a Moscow plan. It could be used in other regions of Russia. The gist of it is simple: Management and financing of the militia require urgent reorganization. Moscow needs its own public security service, a kind of municipal militia. It would include the present patrol and point duty regiments, precinct inspectors, and crime prevention inspectors. It will be headed by a professional who is well versed in crime prevention techniques and collaboration between rayon public order maintenance administrations and departments. The municipal militia will be financed by the local authorities.

The second service is the mobile, technology-equipped anti-criminal militia. Its job is to stop and detect crime. It will group together the Criminal Investigation Department, the Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, personnel from the Special Purpose Militia Detachment, and investigation, scientific and technical, detection, and analysis services. At the moment, they have different chiefs, but they will be under one chief—another professional, who will not avoid tackling other militia tasks. A commander in chief is needed here in the war against crime. The militia will be funded out of the Russian budget, as will the municipal security service for the time being.

[Rudnev] So there are two militias in Moscow?

[Dunayev] In terms of funding, I suppose there are. But in organizational terms the Main Internal Affairs Administration is a single structure, subordinate to Moscow City Hall and to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, as decided by President Boris Yeltsin. It would be nice to entrust the coordination of the two Moscow militia services to a civilian, a representative of executive authority in Moscow. Ultimately, Muscovites will hold the mayor of Moscow responsible, they voted for him, and G. Popov has to answer for the state of affairs in the city. It is our duty to select real professionals to lead the criminal police and Moscow public security service. It is City Hall's responsibility to propose a candidate capable of mobilizing all the city's forces to equip the militia, provide it with cadres, and ensure a joint struggle for Muscovites' security.

[Rudnev] Are you suggesting that responsibility for the state of law and order should be shared between your generals and the mayor and his prefects?

[Dunayev] Precisely. There is no advantage in saying that crime is a social phenomenon and everyone must combat it. There is no advantage in trying to see the militia in the worst possible light. If we are going to tackle the job seriously then let everyone have his allotted area. Then there will be someone ultimately responsible.

[Rudnev] Do you have candidates for the new posts?

[Dunayev] I have no doubts about the professionalism of Vyacheslav Komissarov, present chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration. I have known him for a long time. We were students together, we worked side by side in southern regions of Russia, and we participated in joint operations to expose criminal groups. As they used to say in the war, I would trust him with my life, but he is needed elsewhere. I have offered him the post of my first deputy, he has accepted. Arkadiy Murashov is an excellent organizer, a fighter by nature, and he is respected by the Moscow authorities, which is no mean feat as far as the militia is concerned. I am thinking of appointing him the new chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration.

[Rudnev] A few words now about Russia, about backwoods Russia....

[Dunayev] The situation is extremely difficult there. In eight months there have been 1,369,681 crimes, an increase of 21.5 percent. We have solved half. Staff shortages are growing by the hour, not by the day: in June—25,000; in July—30,000; now, together with the Moscow garrison, more than 40,000. Sometimes there is no one to send out onto the streets, and we are forced to divert officers to the issuing of identity cards, to the registration and deregistration of citizens, and to giving drunks special medical assistance. In the very near future, we will have shed the functions that are not proper militia functions. We have backing in the Russian Government on this. The legislative base needs improving too.

[Rudnev] But the most democratic laws will not save people from crude acts, cynical behavior, and breaches of civil rights.

[Dunayev] I have had plenty of complaints, too. In many respects, people are right, but I would point out that there are always two sides to a conflict (I exclude crimes among our personnel—no confusion there). If a sergeant is abused, he will answer back. Insult him and he will try to respond in kind. If someone violates his rights, he will not be too respectful of that person's rights. He should exercise self-control, of course. He should be patient. We are living in the same social conditions, after all.

[Rudnev] You mean that each people gets the militia it deserves?

[Dunayev] You cannot reduce life to an aphorism. It is much more complex than that. If the militia blames the people and the people fight with the militia, then, believe me, it will be a long time before we can get out of this vicious circle.

[Rudnev] You are using words that are not in the Soviet militia officer's oath.

[Dunayev] The oath is a product of the era of class struggle, a time when state interests took priority over citizens' personal interests; for example, I go more for the norms of the ethical code of law-enforcement officers in civilized countries. Consider what they say: My main duty is to serve people, protect their lives and property, protect the innocent against deception, the weak against oppression or intimidation, and the peace-loving against violence.

Burbulis To Meet Yeltsin; Affirms Independence

LD0210020491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, secretary of state of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], told parliamentarians at a meeting on Tuesday that tomorrow he is flying to join RSFSR President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, to spend two or three days working with him on RSFSR problems.

The secretary of state expressed the conviction that the Russian Federation, not through its own fault, is today obliged to declare its own independence. At the same time, he stressed that the RSFSR must not do this naively, but after declaring itself to be the successor of the Union. Gennadiy Burbulis added that when the full-blooded Russia announces this process, all republics will be obliged to take the process into account. Burbulis spoke critically of the draft Union treaty in its former version, which preserved the functions and the powers of the center.

Russian Communist Reformers Form Democratic Party

LD0110154391 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alekandrova]

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—"We want to be a left democratic party similar to Western Social Democrats. We consider social justice as our main aim. We want to move towards a just society," Vasily Lipitsky, chairman of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia (DPCR) board, told TASS.

The party was officially founded by communist reformers, who disagreed with the Russian Communist Party leadership's conservative course. It was formed on the basis of the Russian parliament's Communists for Democracy faction on the initiative of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy at the beginning of August.

According to Lipitsky, the party has formed its social basis, which includes "qualified wage workers and civilised business people".

After the aborted coup, the situation changed. "Before it, we aimed mainly at antitotalitarian activities. We expected to have to deal with dismantling totalitarian structures for a considerable period, but the task has been accomplished over a short period," Lipitsky said.

"Now, we need to elaborate the programme deeper, and we should work on the party's election programme. The party focuses on an effective economy, on increasing the diversity of forms of ownership and developing private initiative and independence of producers," Lipitsky said.

According to Lipitsky, the party should focus on creating organisational structures and elaborating party rules. The organisational period is expected to last until the first party congress, scheduled between October 26-27.

A recent working meeting of representatives from regional party organisations revealed that "we have good nonuniform and nonconformist cadres", Lipitsky said.

Another serious problem facing the party is relations with local power bodies. "Local democratic changes are slower than in Moscow. There are lots of places in Russia, where our party membership can cause problems for a person in a work collective," Lipitsky said.

"The communist nomenclatura have only changed their seats and continue to govern on vast territories," Lipitsky said.

Lipitsky said most party members favour changing the party's name, as its current name seems outdated. Some of them suggest calling it the Free Russia Party.

Lipitsky confirmed that the DPCR "sees its future as a collective member of the Democratic Reform Movement (DRM)". The movement has a future as a block of political parties.

In contrast to the Democratic Russia Movement, the DRM becomes an interrepublican block uniting political forces on all the territory of the former Soviet Union. "It is a very important function, as former republics will hardly welcome political unions," Lipitsky said.

In addition to the DPCR, the Democratic Reform Movement includes the Russian Republican Party and the Russian Party of Democratic Restructuring. DPCR leader Rutskoy is also a DRM leader.

Government Offices Moving Into CPSU Buildings

LD0210081991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and the Russian Communist Party Central Committee will be cut by more than 90 percent by the end of the year. This information was provided by Yuriy Petrov, head of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's administration.

Petrov noted that some of the RSFSR president and Council of Ministers administration, including the prime minister, his deputies, and certain RSFSR ministries, are moving into the buildings on Staraya Ploshchad. The move has already started, before a court decision has been made. According to Petrov, the buildings have to be used; otherwise, they will be pillaged. He also reported that there are currently more than R [rubles] 12,000 million in party funds in various bank accounts. A substantial sum—about R2,700 million—had been deposited in various commercial banks. The fate of these funds will be decided by the court.

Officials Predict No Parades, Rallies on 7 Nov

PM0110115991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Sep 91 p 1

[TASS report under the rubric "Rumors and Forecasts": "Will There Be an October Festival?"]

[Text] Moscow—There is more than one month to go until 7 November—the day of the October Revolution—but rumors of the ending of this festival are already spreading. It is said that there will be neither military parades, as previously, nor demonstrations, although the holding of rallies cannot be entirely ruled out. In general, people ought to go to work on 7 November because "our national festival is now 21 August."

Aleksandr Muzykantskiy, deputy prime minister of the government of Moscow, was unable to shed light on this question: "A decision on it will be made at a higher government level."

Nor did Aleksandr Musiyenko, secretary to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president, add anything new to this. "They usually embark on a specific discussion of upcoming measures two weeks before the festival," he said. "I believe that this time Moscow will dispense with a military parade. It is too costly a pleasure. Moreover, the appearance of military hardware on the streets after the August events creates a far from festive mood in Muscovites."

"The agenda for the Supreme Soviet session does not provide for a discussion of the celebration of the 74th October anniversary," Sergey Filatov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, declared. "However, in my opinion, it would not be a bad thing to make 7 and 8 November working days. We have already had two more rest days than usual this year by celebrating Christmas on 7 January and the RSFSR presidential election on 12 June."

It cannot be ruled out that the Fourth Congress of Russian People's Deputies, whose work is planned to resume on 28 October, will express its opinion on this question.

It is most likely, however, that everything will be cleared up far sooner. According to Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, a Supreme Soviet Presidium session will be held as early as 30 September, and the question of celebrating October's 74th anniversary will be discussed there.

External Affairs

'Urgent Matters' Keep Russia From Treaty Debate

PM0110120991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[By M. Berger: "Working Groups Halt Work"]

[Text] Moscow—Preliminary work and preparation for the signing of the Treaty on Economic Union began this way.

Authorized representatives from 13 sovereign states met in the premises of the former USSR Cabinet of Ministers Party Committee Monday morning with the purpose of preparing and signing an agreement on economic union. Only two republics had omitted to send anybody, and from a purely numerical standpoint such a gathering would have been considered a success if the absentees had not included Russia (there was no Estonian representative either). Therefore the authorized representatives insisted on adjourning the conference for several hours in order to consult with the Russian representative, since the general opinion was that work on the treaty would lose all meaning without Russia.

The absence of one or all of the Baltic states at such undertakings in not unusual, but Russia's nonparticipation here does look quite strange. Furthermore, this is not a political gesture but the result of purely technical errors (at least, this is what one would like to think). There is simply nobody to appoint as authorized representative: The Russian president is in the Transcaucasus, the vice president is in Britain, and the premier is engaged in the Interrepublic Economic Committee. Likewise, the Supreme Soviet and its acting chairman are busy with the agenda for the current session. In short, everyone is involved in urgent matters, and that fully explains why preference is given to those matters. But the point is: If agreement on forms of economic coexistence and cooperation is not reached soon, then the entire country could find itself out of business.

Local Affairs

St. Petersburg Official on Food Supply Problems

PM0110130591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Pokrovskiy, chairman of St. Petersburg City Hall Food Committee, by TASS correspondent Irina Zolotareva; place and date not given: "St. Petersburg's Food Problems"]

[Text] Is St. Petersburg threatened with famine? TASS correspondent Irina Zolotareva interviews Sergey Pokrovskiy, chairman of the St. Petersburg City Hall Food Committee.

[Zolotareva] The city's vegetable stalls do not look very inviting, and moreover, prices are high. And from next year our city is entirely excluded from the ranks of Union consumers.

[Pokrovskiy] The situation is no worse than last year. Already holdups had begun to appear in deliveries of meat and meat products from various regions of Russia and the Baltic. Butter and sugar from the Ukraine. Tea from Georgia. Famine was prevented. I am sure that it will be prevented now as well. As for vegetables, last year the southern republics helped to diversify the range. This year there is no such help. For example, we have purchased goods in Moldova, but we cannot get them out—it is forbidden no matter where you turn. You cannot, and that is all there is to it. Deliveries used to come from the agrarian countries of East Europe. They are ready to deliver now too, but "at world prices".... Yet our oblast's sovkhozes are doing their level best to promote European suppliers' interests. We have taken the step of raising purchasing prices for vegetables, which has affected retail prices, of course. If we can purchase potatoes from other regions at lower prices, we can stabilize the situation.

But in the first quarter of 1992 the city may find itself in a very difficult situation when it will be made equal with Russian cities with regard to which it has always enjoyed a privileged position, and enjoyed this position entirely deservedly in my view. After all, Leningraders worked so that others could work in peace. Conversion will not come about quickly or cheaply. And it does not take into account the fact that thousands of students and postgraduates from other cities study here.

[Zolotareva] Does that leave just our own oblast to rely on?

[Pokrovskiy] The oblast will never feed the city. The only things which we can supply ourselves with are beet, carrots, and other vegetables, excluding potatoes.

Burbulis Issues Statement on Dnestr Unrest, Talks

LD0110132491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] secretary of state, issued a statement on Dnestr region events. In his words, the situation in this region has been specially studied by members of the RSFSR president's State Council. The Russian Federation state councillors, the document says, in part, calls on sides involved in the conflict to display political and human wisdom, refrain from violence, make their actions accord with the norms of international law, and conduct themselves in a civilized manner. The statement also expresses the hope that the sides will find it possible in the immediate future to sit down at the negotiating table and to resolve the existing contradictions through conciliation. Should the sides agree, it would be possible to consider the question of participation of representatives of the Russian Federation in these talks as intermediaries, says Gennadiy Burbulis, RSFSR secretary of state, in his statement.

Udmurtiya Opposition Assails Supreme Soviet

LD0110124591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Preparations have begun in Udmurtiya for a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. It will be held in the near future and will consider problems of the reorganization of the executive powers and elections of the heads of local authorities. It seems that the parliamentary opposition, representing the democratic forces, will wage a highly resolute battle against the moderate and conservative majority of the Supreme Soviet. The democrats have accused the Supreme Soviet Presidium of indecision and temporizing during the putsch and have demanded the resignation of four members of the leadership of the supreme body of authority.

This course on the part of the opposition was regarded by the Presidium and by its supporters in newspaper articles as an attempt to whip up needless political passions and to destabilize the situation in the republic.

Ownership of Arzamas-16 'Bone of Contention'

LD0110134491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod—The spate of territorial disputes has even reached the Russian hinterland. The bone of contention between the Nizhniy Novogorod Oblast and Mordovia is the town of Arzamas-16, which is still closed to outsiders and foreigners. The republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers have told Nizhniy Novgorod that they are asserting their right to a part of the territory of this highly secret zone. A commission of people's deputies is being set up to resolve the argument. It is drawing up its findings and will forward them for consideration by the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Media

Ministry Aide Views Future of Local Newspapers

PM0110133391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Sep 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Will Rayon Newspapers Survive?"]

[Text] The well-founded assumptions that after the new year rayon newspapers will not be financed—and that means they will not be coming out—have worried many people today. The rayon press comprises thousands of newspapers for which thousands of employees work. A "White Square" action organized by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Union of Journalists has taken place to protest the closure of these publications.

Therefore, has the fate of the press which is close to the rural inhabitant been predetermined? A TASS correspondent put this question to V. Prokushev, chief of the Periodical Publications Department in the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Information.

"In order to ensure rayon newspapers' viability today, a minimum of 700 million rubles must be found. Tomorrow these figures could increase: The service costs of the Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter have trebled. Printing and publishing workers are demanding more money and combines are inflating the paper price; in short, a market has arrived in the country which nobody can get away from. The time for professionals is coming, therefore journalists themselves must find a solution to the situation that has developed.

"The creation of amalgamated newspapers based on minor and unprofitable newspapers is seen as a realistic way out. In places which have more or less major printing plants, interrayon newspapers could be set up which come out once a week in 16 pages in an edition of 70-75,000 copies. This will make the publications profitable."

[TASS] But the combined newspapers are not in a position to absorb all the rayon journalists.

[Prokushev] But that is not necessary. We all know that there are many incidental people and nonprofessionals in these newspapers. It was not a rare phenomenon for rayon committees to send people of their own who had displeased them into exile, as it were, as a desk chief or, often, editor.

Belorussia

Danger Still Exists at Chernobyl Nuclear Plant

LD0110111991 Moscow TASS in English 0952 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Alekey Luzin]

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—The danger of a new release of radioactive substances still remains at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, member of the Soviet parliament's commission for investigating the reasons of the Chernobyl Disaster Vladimir Penkov has said.

Based on the results of research at the fourth block of the plant between 1986-1990, Penkov told TASS that a group of scientists and specialists have arrived at the conclusion that a complex of protection facilities built around the block to restrict the source of radioactive pollution, does not meet safety demands.

Inside the "sarcophagus", there is no ventilation, gas cleaning or dust suppression systems. Rain is seeping through leaching radioactive elements into the ground.

According to specialists, additional protection measures are needed to make the facility safe, including the building of another cover over the existing protection structures, encasing the reactor in concrete, dismantling the fourth block completely and processing and burying all radioactive waste.

Scientists believe that building another cover will help eliminate escapes of radioactive substances from the block, costing considerably small sums of money. But the service life of the protection structures, estimated to be no longer than 100 years, is not sufficient to reduce radioactivity of materials under the cover to a safe level.

A radical solution to the problem would be the complete dismantling of the fourth block and burying all radioactive waste in special stores, scientists believe. Due to numerous technical problems and high cost, it is impossible to start sorting out the problem yet.

At the same time, to avoid a new catastrophe, it is necessary to take measures to prevent the state of the block from getting worse. Specialists propose building the second cover, the structure of which should protect the reactor from rain.

They believe that it is impossible to resolve the problem without creating an inter-regional committee to organise and coordinate the complex activities needed to clean up the aftermath of the disaster.

Right to Private Land Ownership Recognized

OW0210012791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2300 GMT 1 Oct 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Following repeated discussions of the issue, Belarus' parliament recognized private ownership of land in the republic. By now 160,000 ha [hectares] of land have been distributed among private owners in Belarus, one of the major Soviet food producers.

Ukraine

Yakovlev To Visit, Bring Gorbachev Message

LD0110154891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1447 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the USSR president's Political Consultative Council, will fly to Kiev on 5 October on the instructions of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to take part in events connected with the 50th anniversary of the mass exterminatin of Jews and other Soviet citizens around Babiy Yar. This was reported at a briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry today by Andrey Grachev, head of the president's press service.

According to him, Aleksandr Yakovlev is to take a personal message from the USSR president to Kiev and speak at a formal ceremony.

Kravchuk Continues Visit to United States

Accords Reached

PM0110102791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by A. Blinov: "What L. Kravchuk Will Take Home From Washington"]

[Text] Washington—"Today's most important task is to give the Act of Ukrainian Independence real substance as soon as possible," Leonid Kravchuk, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman, said during his speech at the National Press Club in Washington. The Ukrainian leader was addressing journalists on the second and final day of his visit to Washington.

L. Kravchuk voiced the hope that the referendum scheduled for 1 December will confirm the Supreme Soviet decision to proclaim Ukrainian independence. "We will do everything in our power to ensure that the Ukraine joins the European and world communities as a truly democratic, rule-of-law state," L. Kravchuk said.

L. Kravchuk said that the Ukraine intends to impart full meaningfulness to its UN membership, which was hitherto a formality. Maintaining close links with Ukrainians and their relatives living in the United States, Canada, Argentina, and other countries will be a top priority in Ukrainian foreign policy activity. Steps will be taken to extensively develop foreign economic ties.

During his stay in Washington L. Kravchuk was received by U.S. President G. Bush. He had meetings with congressional leaders. The Ukrainian delegation also visited the headquarters of the IMF and the World Bank. The visit to the international financial organizations is directly linked with L. Kravchuk's intention, stated in Washington, to introduce the Ukraine's own currency next year—a currency that will be convertible from the very outset.

No official agreements were signed with the U.S. Administration. However, important accords were reached for the United States to aid economic reforms in the Ukraine. The possibility of granting technical aid will be considered, in particular. The intention is to extend U.S. Peace Corps programs to the Ukraine. The United States will continue the medical aid program that has already begun.

These accords are the result of a conversation between L. Kravchuk and G. Bush during an additional meeting in the White House between the Ukrainian delegation and administration experts.

THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out, citing an unnamed official State Department representative, that the meeting in the Oval Office of the White House was an "integral part of the process of contacts between the United States and people in the Soviet Union at all levels—in Moscow and at republic level." At the same time it does not mean recognition of Ukrainian independence.

Addresses United Nations

LD0110124191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk addressed the UN General Assembly session on 30 September.

He said that sending the period of fierce ideological confrontation into the past offers the chance to leave behind the arms race period, so destructive for mankind. Leonid Kravchuk referred to U.S. President George Bush's proposal to eliminate considerable amounts of nuclear weapons as a giant step along the path toward a more secure future.

In this regard, the Supreme Soviet chairman outlined the Ukraine's position on nuclear arms issues. Certain types of nuclear arms are being deployed on Ukrainian territory, he said. We proceed from the fact that the availability of nuclear weapons within Ukrainian borders is a transitional phenomenon. Their destruction, just as the destruction of their sites [komponenty bazuvannya], is a question of time. The Ukraine does not aspire to possess nuclear weapons. It wants to join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty as a nonnuclear state.

Speaking on the current world situation, the Supreme Soviet chairman stressed that the Ukraine has not simply changed its nameplate in the UN session hall. It has fundamentally changed its attitude to the tragic pages of its history and to a number of international problems. In particular, it would be impossible for the Ukraine now to vote in favor—and even more so to be one of the coauthors—of the resolution that equates Zionism with racism, which would initiate a fierce ideological confrontation in the world.

Referring to the Ukrainian situation, Leonid Kravchuk said: While informing the international community about the act of proclaiming our independence, we would like to emphasize that the Ukraine has no territorial claims on any of its neighbors. We reject absolutely any attempts to talk with us in the language of territorial pretensions.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman noted that he would like to use this opportunity to declare solemnly to the United Nations and to the whole world that we have at last mounted the path of creating an independent, indivisible, and law-based state that will rest on the principles of democracy and self-rule.

More on UN Speech

LD0110125391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk completed his visit to the United States. According to today's protocol, Leonid Kravchuk met with the secretary general of the international community Perez de Cuellar, delivered a speech at the session of the UN General Assembly. Leonid Kravchuk pointed out in his speech Ukraine needs to conduct a more active policy at the United Nations organization, for until today, its membership of the United Nations was, to a certain degree, of a formal nature. An extensive developemnt of interstate economic and political ties will become a priority direction of Ukraine's integrate [as heard] into the European and world community as a genuinely democratic and legal state, underlined the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk.

Danger of Civil Unrest Perceived in Republic

LD0110195991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Report by Correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa, 1 Oct (UKRINFORM-TASS)—The civil population of the Ukraine—the population of those Odessa Oblast rayons that border the Dnestr Republic in particular—is in real danger of being drawn into the conflict on the territory of Moldova. Traditionally, many residents of working age of the rayon centers of Kotovsk and Kransyye Okny and adjacent villages work in the enterprises of Dubossary, Rybnitsa, and other population centers. Families that are related to each other live on both sides. And certain groups, alarmed by the fate of those who are close to them, are already trying to move

toward the hotbed of tension, something which meets with physical resistance from the extremist section of the Moldovan population and the official authorities of Moldova, the UKRINFORM correspondent was told at the Odessa Oblast soviet.

The continuing confrontation carries the risk of creating a mass of refugees, which might cause destabilization of interethnic relations in the Odessa Oblast where 145,000 Moldovans, 165,000 Bulgarians and about 28,000 Gagauz live in addition to Ukrainians, Russians, and Jews. Stressing its respect for the rights and internal affairs of the sovereign Moldovan state, the Presidium of the Odessa Oblast soviet of people's deputies set out its concern about the escalation of the conflict in two telegrams addressed to Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova.

Unfortunately he has not yet replied to these appeals, just as the president of the republic has ignored a proposal that there should be a personal meeting with, or reception of an official delegation from the neighboring oblast of sovereign Ukraine, a proposal that was sent to him on 28 September by Ruslan Bodelan, Chairman of the Odessa Oblast soviet of people's deputies.

Presidential Election Could Become Loyalty Test

LD0110123991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The initial stage of the Ukrainian presidential election campaign—the collecting of 100,000 signatures in support of one or other of the candidates—is in danger of becoming a test of the voters' loyalty. At a number of enterprises this work is being carried out under the definite guidance of the candidate, particularly of Leonid Kravchuk. Those who sympathize with others, especially with Vyachelsav Chernovil, are being noted. This is reported by the Russian News Agency.

The agency says much is also unclear regarding the scheduling of the all-Ukrainian referendum for 1 December together with the presidential election. The purpose of the referendum is to assess the republic's act of independence which has been passed by the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Initiative Group Sets Up New Communist Party

LD0110103291 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 0100 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] An initiative group on the setting up of a new Communist Party has issued an appeal in Donetsk city. The group, including the first secretary of the former Donetsk city Communist Party committee, declared its intention to disrupt all ties with the communist elite. The members of the group intend to protect the [word indistinct] interests of the workers. The question is whether many of them (?still) want their interests to be protected by the communists.

Moldova

Dnestr Situation Still Being Addressed

Snegur Hopes for Concensus

LD0210054791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] President of Moldova Mircha Snegur, who is currently in Kazakhstan attending the meeting of the leaders of the sovereign republics, described the situation in his republic as tense. Instead of occupying ourselves with the economy, preparations for winter, and gathering the harvest, we have to constantly remove obstacles thrown in by the process of confrontation, he said in an interview with a correspondent of the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY. According to Snegur, the Moldovan leadership hopes that it will succeed in achieving a consensus this week. In this connection, he praised the conciliatory mission of two groups of Russian deputies that have recently visited Moldova.

Answering a question about the Moldovan reaction to the deteriorating situation in Romania, Snegur said that the recent events are delaying a solution to Romania's domestic problems, which, naturally, is bound to affect the traditionally very close links with Moldova. Snegur announced that on 30 September he received a verbal message from President Ion Iliescu of Romania confirming the immutability of friendly Romanian-Moldovan relations. According to the Moldovan president, the republic will soon open an embassy in Bucharest.

Weapons Confiscated

AU0110162391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1331 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/10/1991—According to a representative of the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Moldova to Dubossary, a locality in the so-called Dnestr Republic, which was abusively [as received] proclaimed in the territory of the Republic of Moldova, the idea of instituting a state of emergency is accepted in principle. Moldovans call on their Interior Ministry to control the situation, while the Russian-speaking population thinks that is something to be done by the USSR.

For the time being, the Moldovan police and the special troops of the Moldovan National Defense Ministry are in control of the situation, which is something the Russian-speaking population does not like. Journalists travelling to Dubossary were shown a room containing numerous weapons of various types which were confiscated from the Russian-speaking population. A police officer said four machine-guns were found which were mounted by separatists and which can cross-fire on the plateau in front of the city Soviet where events have been under way for several days.

The situation is as tense in Tiraspol and Bendery after a three-day ultimatum given to the Moldovan Government for the satisfaction of claims—the liberation of Transdnestrian leaders and the recognition of that republic". Tens [as received] of women blocked the railway on Monday [30 September]. The Bucharest-Moscow train was halted for an hour (the doors were not opened) and could continue its ride only after insistent requests by the chief of the railway station in Tiraspol.

Correspondents Report From Dnestr

PM0110155791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Single Edition pp 1-2

[Article by TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Confrontation in the Dnestr Region: Two Banks"]

[Text] Dubossary, 30 Sep—For several days now there have been hundreds of people in front of the Dubossary city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] building.

This is the piece of land in the city center that the city soviet controls. Detachments of police and the Kishinev OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] have formed cordons around it. In principle, their task is clear: It is to protect public order and monitor the movement of people and equipment. It is just that they interpret it in a very particular way: The checking of documents and the search and examination of vehicles are accompanied by insults and often violence. I myself have witnessed how these guardians of law and order work. They stopped a white Zhiguli car and got the driver out. One thug grabbed him by the hair, pushed him abruptly onto the hood of the car, and hit his legs to make him spread them wider. They dragged the passenger out of the car in equally uncivil manner and began pushing him toward a wall, kicking him as they did so. All this was accompanied by threats and insults.

That is why each day people who have been beaten come to the city soviet. Each case is recorded and a report given to the prosecutor. USSR and Russian People's Deputy N. Travkin saw such people when he arrived in Dubossary on the evening of 28 September.

The left bank, the right bank... And between them the mighty Dnestr River. But the river is not the only thing dividing people.

What do the sides want? Here is the opinion of Viktor Dyukarev, a people's deputy of the Moldova Republic and nominally—unfortunately—of the Dnestr MSSR [Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic]:

"People are demanding an end to the insults, the beatings, the pogroms, the harassment using dogs, and the use of handcuffs. All the methods that I listed are used by the police and Kishinev OMON and the so-called volunteers brought in from the right bank of the Dnestr.

"What is needed to normalize the situation? There is just one answer: leave the Dnestr region in peace and end the diktat from Kishinev. That must be understood by those who are using automatic guns and clubs now to try to impose Romanian ways. The Dnestr region's population will never tolerate them. People in these regions have always lived as a single family and have always found mutual understanding."

But what about the other side? My talk with Major Ivan Rachula, local police commissioner, was brief:

"The situation in the city is complex. The fueling of hysteria has been going on for a long time. I believe that the city soviet is an unlawful organ. It supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. Its leaders surrounded themselves with people because they ware afraid to answer to the law. They are afraid of losing their posts and their big salaries. The city soviet's prestige is diminishing day by day. Until the city soviet is replaced dialogue will achieve nothing here."

So, back to the gorispolkom building. I talked with A. Porozhan, deputy chairman of the city soviet. Aleksandr was born and raised on this land, in his own words he "considers himself" a Ukrainian but there is Moldovan blood in his veins, too. When he learned that he was hanging onto a leading post and a high salary, Aleksandr smiled:

"I am not hanging onto anything. I used to receive 400 rubles before when I was an engineer-technologist at a machine plant. I could earn more—I have the mental and physical ability. Consequently I gained hardly anything in my new post except headaches. But I lost quite a lot: I used to go in for sport when I had the spare time. Now I do not even see my family for long stretches. Other men have not gained anything either. City soviet chairman Vladislav Finagin was leader of an enterprise. Gorispolkom deputy chairman Ivan Tyutyunik is an experienced construction worker... As you can understand, they earned more than they do now. But people elected us, how can we betray them?

"As for supporting the SCSE," Aleksandr went on, "let them send a summons, I will agree to testify, I do not intend to hide. But as there has been no summons who can claim I haven't appeared? You can go on arguing about who supported the putschists."

While I was talking with Porozhan his office gradually filled with people. And when the discussion turned to Romanianization no one was indifferent, as they say here. They remembered it all: the switch to the Roman alphabet, the introduction of Romanian history in schools, the free border...

"But Moldovan history is richer than Romanian history, why do they not study it?" one interlocutor said heatedly. "And they deprived people of their language. Is everyone capable of learning this Roman script? I have seen for myself how an old woman at the bus station could not read the timetable..."

The discussion touched a nerve. They recalled people dismissed from their jobs for political reasons... Examples were easy to find. People's Deputy Viktor Dyukarev, until recently chief zootechnician of the "Moldptitseprom" science and production association, was unemployed for several months. He no longer does the job that he is trained for. Even his deputy's immunity did not help. Perhaps he does not know the language? No, he has a thorough grasp of Romanian. Or is he bad at his job? How shall I put it: He is a candidate of biological sciences, he has written three books, and is an inventor—he has several copyrights to his name. But his views and position... However, there are plenty of people like him—those who have been short-changed by the Moldovan authorities and current laws. In the past few days I have heard quite a few bitter confessions. About the fact that they call local inhabitants "occupiers" and that they are "eating Moldova out of house and home." On the whole they have been fabricated. Who are the targets of these claims? People whose native land has been turned into virtually the only region in the country with a stable budget, relatively low prices, and the kind of abundance which they have forgotten about in many places.

People have been intimidated by the claim that they will be forced either to worship all things foreign or to join the ranks of the refugees and that the blood of the city's inhabitants will flow again as it did on 2 November last year. Passions were inflamed by the statement of republic officials that the criminal investigation into the tragic events a year ago has been terminated. People ask: Does this mean that those who gave the order to fire on unarmed people have been acquitted? Have the killers been given a free hand, is more bloodshed possible?

...For two days in succession there were talks at the gorispolkom building between the opposing sides. On the one hand there were representatives of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Dubossary, on the other there was Viktor Berlinskiy, member of the Moldova Supreme Soviet presidium. The many hours of debates proved fruitless. The terms put forward by the sides proved simply unacceptable. The Kishinev representative insisted that the police be allowed into the gorispolkom building and search people found in its premises and on the square to find and confiscate any weapons they might have. Only then will the OMON subunits gradually be withdrawn from the city.

The Dnestr side considered these terms humiliating. It wanted the withdrawal of the extra law and order forces first and only then would people disperse to their homes. "That is not going to happen," V. Berlinski stated.

The situation is like a pendulum. First an encouraging report on the release of people detained by the policy came in. Admittedly, the joy was mingled with a sizeable proportion of bitterness: They had all been badly beaten up. But they are free! On the other hand—suddenly, on the night of 29 September, the electricity and the intercity telephones were cut for several hours. During those hours information arrived from various sources that on the right bank, just a few kilometers from Dubossary, hospital beds for the injured were urgently being prepared.

All this is dispiriting and alarming. People are expecting acts of provocation.

While I have been on this assignment I have heard it said a number of times: There could be a second Karabakh here. And having been to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast a number of times, I replied: "God forbid! Will it really come to that?.."

Conciliation Accords Signed

LD0110202291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Kishinev, 1 Oct (TASS)—Railways have been unblocked in Bendery, Tiraspol and Rybnitsa (Dnestr Region), and the four detained people's deputies, including Igor Smirnov and Stepan Topal, leaders of the Dnestr region and Gagauzia, have been freed. This has become possible thanks to documents signed today, which are of enormous importance for stabilizing the situation in the Dnestr region. The documents were signed by representatives of the official authorities of the Republic of Moldova and the leaders of the Dnestr region; Russian deputies attended.

The first document is a conciliation protocol which envisages the normalization of the situation in the town of Dubossary and Dubossarskiy Rayon. Specifically, the simultaneous withdrawal of forces of the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs and civilian formations and the anonymous surrender of firearms are being carried out today, monitored by a group of observers from the Russian Supreme Soviet, Moldova and leaders of a number of Dnestr rayons. At the same time, additional subdivisions of the Interior Ministry are being withdrawn from Dubossary and the Dubossarskiy and Grigoriopolskiy Rayons.

The second document envisages solving issues aimed at normalizing the situation in a number of other populated areas on Moldova's left bank.

Both sides agreed to exclude attempts at solving contentious issues by using force, economic strikes, blockades, blackmail, psychological pressure, misinformation and to resolutely halt them by legal means.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia: Opposition Wants 'To Kill You All'

AU0210084491 Paris AFP in English 2238 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Report by Bertrand de Saisset]

[Excerpt] Tbilisi, Georgia, Oct 1 (AFP) — Embattled Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia on Tuesday [1 October] made a bitter new attack on the armed opposition to his rule, telling a crowd of supporters that his opponents were out for blood, but vowing that they themselves would be killed.

Speaking close to the open coffins of two loyal members of the National Guard who were killed in recent clashes between his supporters and his opponents, the Georgian leader told the 6,000-strong crowd: "Just think what they want to do to us."

"They want to kill you all, you who are here... Know that they are going to die too," he said. The crowd had responded to an appeal from Gamsakhurdia to pray for the two National Guard members, who died in an overnight gunfight in Tbilisi on September 25.

"Look at what the enemies of Georgia have done," Gamsakhurdia continued, pointing to the two bodies. The corpses had been laid at the foot of the steps leading to the parliament building, which has become Gamsakhurdia's armed camp. The opposition, which is supported by a majority of the National Guard, is holed up in the television headquarters, elsewhere in the city.

After the rally, a crowd of some 3,000 Gamsakhurdia supporters carried the coffins towards the TV centre, where opposition supporters were gathered. However after discussions between the two sides, the crowd dispersed without incident. It was the first time in a month of crisis that the two sides had been physically so close and in such large numbers. For several minutes, there were fears of a major clash. But a prominent poet on the opposition side, Jansug Charkviani, urged opposition supporters to keep calm and "not to let yourselves be conned into violence." [passage omitted]

Day of Mourning for Tbilisi Riot Victims

LD0110105391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1007 GMT 1 Oct 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 1 Oct (TASS)—Today is a day of mourning in Georgia. It was declared by the republic's leadership in memory of those who died on 26 September during armed clashes in Tbilisi and of Dr. Givi Abesadze, who committed an act of self-immolation in the center of the city several days prior to this.

The SAKINFORM agency reports that the situation in Tbilisi remains tense, as before. Matters have reached the stage where explosions are resounding in the city and the sound of weapons can be heard. The situation is especially difficult in those regions, where higher education establishments are situated.

In connection with this, the Education Ministry said that while even one illegal armed formation or group exists in the city which places people's lives in danger, the start of the academic year is impossible. Lessons in all the education establishments of the Georgian capital will begin only if complete order is established in the city.

Traditionalists Party Supports Opposition Demands

AU0110110391 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 18 Sep 91 p 2

["Statement by the Council of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists" signed by Akaki Asatiani, chairman of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists and chairman of the Georgian Supreme Council; place and date not given]

[Text] The development of internal political processes in the former Soviet Union following the putsch of 19-21 August has resulted in the virtual collapse of the Soviet empire. Unfortunately, at such an extremely important time in Georgia, there has been a considerable worsening of the political situation that results from the following facts:

1. There is no compulsory mechanism in operation for the separation of legislative and executive power and for a balance to be established between them.

2. The existing relations between the government and the opposition is unacceptable to the lawful state.

On the one hand, the opposition does not have legal power that is politically worthwhile and almost does not participate in the political structure of the state. Its actions are directed against official policy and, unfortunately, at the same time, they are generally directed against the legitimate political structure, a fact which is intolerable.

On the other hand, the government does not guarantee real protection of the opposition's legal rights, a fact that is considerably complicating the stabilization of the political situation.

3. The National Guard that has been formed anew has become politicized and has divided into two camps.

4. In connection with all this, I give myself the right to state that there is a political crisis in Georgia and it is the primary duty of both the opposition and the government to overcome it constitutionally.

Given that the Union of Georgian Traditionalists is a member organization of the ruling bloc and is accordingly responsible for all actions of the government, the Union's council states that:

1. Dialogue between the opposition and the government should begin immediately during which all the demands of the opposition should be discussed. The Supreme Council should give its evaluation of these demands at its next session.

2. The next session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council should be relayed live on TV and representatives of the non-parliamentary opposition should be given the opportunity to speak at it.

3. The representatives of political organizations should immediately be given the opportunity to use the mass media.

4. The departure of Georgian Communists from the political arena has radically changed the political reality that existed up to 28 October 1990 [the date of the national elections] and today's parliamentary composition is unable to express the real correlation of active political forces.

For us to resolve the current crisis, it is necessary to reallocate responsibility between the government and the opposition, as a result of which it becomes essential to reorganize [gadanatsileba] the government as well. Therefore, we deem it expedient that the Supreme Council:

a) set off-year elections to the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council;

b) elaborate and adopt a new law on the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Elections.

5. The council of the parliamentary group representing the Union of Georgian Traditionalists should be entrusted to present the stated decision at the next session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council.

Akaki Asatiani, chairman of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists.

Gamsakhurdia Views Relations With Opposition

AU0110112091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 19 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

["Interview With Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Dana Mazalova, correspondent of the newspaper PRAVO LIDU (Czechoslovakia), and Guntis Valuyev, Correspondent of the Newspaper DIENA (Latvia), Granted One Week Ago: 'The Will of the People Is Above Everything Else....'"; place not specified]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, please explain how you understand the word "democracy"?

[Gamsakhurdia] It seems to me that democracy is primarily the supremacy of laws that have been approved by the people, of laws that have been elaborated by the parliament elected by the people. Democracy cannot be understood as direct pressure by the people, even though some people see it just that way. Yes, the etymology of this word does have such a meaning, but true democracy is the rule of laws and not of the demonstrations. In our country, some people believe that any individual or a group of people can rule. This, however, is not democracy. Democracy is, primarily, the respect for the rule of law and for the supremacy of the law.

[Correspondent] How do you picture the place of opposition in a democratic state and the place of opposition in today's Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] If you are talking about a democratic state, then the opposition must respect the laws that have been adopted by parliament and approved by the people. Opposition must act within the framework of the law. It must not refer to the violation of law as freedom and democracy or cover up lawlessness by these words. Unfortunately, in our country, the word "democracy" is used to denote anarchy.

Our so-called opposition members are, in fact, not democrats but anarchists who do not recognize the laws, do not recognize the Constitution, do not recognize the government, and do not recognize the will of the people. The only thing they are concerned with is the attainment of power. This is the essence of one part of the opposition. For this purpose, they resort to various methods: They use weapons, stones, fists, obscene language and catcalling at rallies—all ways to gain power. This has nothing to do with democracy.

[Correspondent] In the street, we can see the so-called intransigent unparliamentary opposition. There also exists parliamentary opposition....

[Gamsakhurdia] Unfortunately, the parliamentary opposition is connected with those who play the oracle in the street. They are operating jointly. They are united by one common idea—they want to force their way to power, to seize the parliament, and to overthrow the president. The only difference is that the unparliamentary opposition is armed, whereas these.... Although, they also have their own armed units and their own armed forces. For example, [Nodar] Natadze [chairman of the Popular Front and the parliamentary opposition faction "Democratic Center"] has his own detachment of armed people. Everything is different in Georgia. This is not Czechoslovakia and not the Baltics, and you cannot apply your own standards here. Armed groupings are operating, the whole of Georgia is armed—do you understand? The criminal armed organization "Mkhedrioni" whose leader [Dzhaba Ioseliani] is under arrest is behind the opposition. They are being supported by the people who wanted to ruin Georgia, who committed robberies, murders, and everything imaginable, and now.... They are rejecting the president because the president is in their way.

[Correspondent] Representatives of the intelligentsia, however, who the other day spoke at a meeting of the opposition, called for compromise and proposed to organize direct parleys between the opposition and the republic's leadership.

[Gamsakhurdia] I have also been proposing this all the time, but not infrequently they would come to the meeting and, instead of a discussion, everything would either come to insults or to lies. The discussion does not suit them, because they will lose in it. These are political bankrupts, bankrupts who have no serious political platform. Do you know what their platform used to be? They declared that the parliamentary road toward achieving independence was impossible in the Soviet Union and that this was treason. [They declared] that Latvia, Lithuania, and their governments were Gorbachev's agents and that Gamsakhurdia was Gorbachev's agent. They advocated the idea of the Baltic countries and Georgia remaining within the Union. Notwithstanding that, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have already liberated themselves and have abandoned the Union, and so they [the opposition] have hushed up. They do not know what to do. Previously, they asserted that the parliamentary path held no prospects and was invented by the Kremlin. The Kremlin planted its agents —[Vytautas] Landsbergis, [Anatolijs] Gorbunovs, [Arnold] Ruutel, and [Zviad] Gamsakhurdia—to maintain the republics within the Union. This position has now sustained a defeat, a total collapse—do you understand? They have nothing to say, and precisely for that reason they have presented a new idea: Gamsakhurdia is a dictator, Gamsakhurdia is a fascist, we do not want such a Georgia, and we do not want independence.... Georgia , however, is confidently proceeding toward independence precisely along a parliamentary road. This is what enrages them. Presently, they have a new argument: The parliament is no good, it must be disbanded, and let us hold new parliamentary elections—this is because they themselves want to be in the parliament. This is what is going on in Georgia and nothing else.

[Correspondent] What do you think about that part of the intelligentsia that previously supported you, but now....

[Gamsakhurdia] No, no, they never supported me.

[Correspondent] However, [Tengiz] Sigua, former premier, and [Georgiy] Khoshtariya, former minister of foreign affairs, they are now with the opposition....

[Gamsakhurdia] This is because I dismissed them, do you understand? They have simply taken offense. This is not opposition, but people who first received the seat, then lost it, and now want to occupy the seat again. They do not need anything else, and this is the reason for their protest.

[Correspondent] Sigua, however, says that he has resigned of his own free will.

[Gamsakhurdia] This is because he realized that he could not work as he did before. He strived to be a second president and resolved many questions on his own. This cannot go on like that and the most essential issues cannot be kept secret. He never raised any issues before the parliament. He did not express his disagreement. As soon as I made a few reprimands to him, he said that he intended to resign. O.K., I said, resign. This is how it was!

[Correspondent] How about [Tengiz] Kitovani, former commander of the National Guard to whom one part of the guard is still subordinated—why did he resign? Who is now in charge of the National Guard?

[Gamsakhurdia] The National Guard is subordinated to me. Kitovani is a person whom I dismissed from his post as commander, although he wanted to become a minister. He is a careerist. This is why he opposes me. He craved for appointment to the post of minister of defense. We have created the Ministry of Defense but have appointed another person as minister. Kitovani took offense, and his position can only be explained by this and by nothing else.

[Correspondent] Kitovani declared that he would not support any political groupings, and if it comes to clashes, the National Guard would intervene. How do you assess his statement?

[Gamsakhurdia] This is a provocative statement aimed at causing a destabilization and, perhaps, a civil war. Maybe, somebody is instigating him and pushing him so he might start bloodshed.... This is most likely....

[Correspondent] Mr. President, an impression has been created that public opinion in the USSR and in other places is already prepared for the fact that Georgia is, so to speak, "gone," just like the Baltics. What are, in your opinion, the main obstacles that Georgia is encountering on the road toward complete independence?

[Gamsakhurdia] Moscow is putting up resistance, after all. Moscow wants somehow to hold Georgia and is using all the criminal and hooligan opposition forces for the purpose. Both [Eduard] Shevardnadze and others in Moscow act all the time in order to.... Our opposition is backed up by Shevardnadze and [Aleksandr] Yakovlev. It is, probably, Gorbachev who is behind Shevardnadze and Yakovlev. I do not know.... Or somebody else. It is absolutely clear that everything is being instigated from Moscow. We have all the evidence that opposition is directed from Moscow. This is obvious.

[Correspondent] You mentioned Eduard Shevardnadze. Do you think that he aspires to power and that he would like to become president of Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course, of course, for him this is the way to fight against me, and these opposition groups are fighting for him.

[Correspondent] Do you have any proof?

[Gamsakhurdia] They directly declare this and they do not conceal this....

[Correspondent] It is not only local opposition but the Russian and foreign mass media as well who criticize

Georgian leadership for the absence of the freedom of press. What can you say on this matter?

[Gamsakhurdia] This is yet another lie. Newspapers are issued here, and there exist opposition newspapers—DRONI, SAKARTVELO, ERTOBA, MAMULI, and so on. These opposition newspapers criticize me every day and publish everything they want, everything... and nobody prevents them from doing so. In spite of the law on the protection of the honor and dignity of the president, they publish everything that comes to their minds every day.

[Correspondent] How about the television?

[Gamsakhurdia] The opposition can speak on the television, but they only must observe the law. The laws must not be violated, for example, they must not demand, when speaking from the TV screen, that the government be overthrown or, for example, insult the president and assert that he is an agent or a spy, or to use bad language. It is simply necessary to observe elementary ethical rules. Otherwise, this will have a very bad effect upon the people, the people may become angered, may threaten to blow up the television, and so forth.

Many activists of the opposition speak on the television. Nodar Natadze recently spoke. We do not give the right to engage in hooliganism to those who only claim to be in opposition. If there is a program, if there is constructive criticism, and if there are comments—they are welcome. However, they do not have them. This is why they assert that there is no freedom at the television.

[Correspondent] The opposition demands direct television broadcasting of parliamentary meetings. What is your attitude toward this?

[Gamsakhurdia] This only depends upon the session itself—everything will be as it decides. Sometimes a decision is adopted to have direct broadcasts, sometimes recordings, because some awkward situations also happen in the parliament. Things do not always proceed in a normal way in the parliament.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the very institution of the presidency today? Was it absolutely necessary for Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, absolutely necessary, because anarchy and chaos are reigning in Georgia. Anarchy.... Complete anarchy. The Communists have left Georgia in a terrible state. Everything is destroyed, everything is broken down, there is no order, and the economy is in a state of crisis. The criminal world is vigorously active, and the anarchist elements are trying to lead Georgia to a catastrophe and to a civil war. The post of president is necessary to maintain some degree of order and to use all levers to extricate our society from the crisis. This does not suit the anarchists and, of course, first and foremost, the Kremlin. As long as I am here, the Kremlin will not be able to bend Georgia to its will. If I am gone, the Kremlin is going to place its own man—either Sigua or somebody else, and then Georgia, already within the confederation, will sign the Union treaty or anything else.... This is what the struggle is for. This is why the Kremlin and all these hooligan elements have united.

[Correspondent] In this connection, what is your attitude toward the idea of the restoration of monarchy in Georgia and toward monarchist parties?

[Gamsakhurdia] We have two monarchist trends. One of them, in my opinion, is not serious. It was created by Communists and by the KGB and is headed by [Temur] Zhorzholiani [chairman of the Monarchist (conservative) Party], a former activist of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] and a militia man—this is the KGB line. These are not monarchists but anarchists. However, there is also the Union of Traditionalists—this is a genuine monarchist party, it is represented in the parliament, and we cooperate with it. I personally also have respect for the monarchist idea, but I believe that it is impossible to realize it today. To implement the monarchist idea, there is a need for a strong and independent state, a state that will be very strong economically and powerful militarily, a very rich state.

[Correspondent] Do you have any contacts with the successor to the Georgian throne?

[Gamsakhurdia] We are on very good terms, but he himself does not lay claims to the throne. Maybe in the future, his descendants will be able to return to Georgia.

[Correspondent] What economic program do you propose for the future of Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] Our economic program is a gradual transition to privatization and to a free market. I emphasize—gradual—[word between dashes published in boldface]. We are now being criticized: Why has not everything been privatized yet? Why has not land been given to the peasants? It is impossible to do this all of a sudden, physically impossible. To begin with, we need a legislative foundation. We are laying this foundation. We are advancing toward privatization, gradually and resolutely, and, in practical terms, toward the restoration of capitalism. We will not be able to achieve this at once and without giving it a second thought, because we are integrated within the Soviet economy. When we are completely separated from the Soviet economy and economically independent, our economy will also be transformed. The creation of our own currency, our own banks, and our own production is our next step in the future. Many laws have already been adopted—for example, the laws on entrepreneurship and on privatization.... Very many small projects have already been privatized.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you will probably agree that today's situation in Georgia is very tense. What proposals do you have for emerging from the crisis?

[Gamsakhurdia] I am calling for a dialogue, I am calling for this, but the opposition would not follow suit. For example, we are giving them a page in the newspaper, in our parliamentary newspaper, even though they have newspapers of their own.... However, they do not come and do not publish their materials. This is because they do not have any arguments. These are people who, as I have remarked, want one thing only: power. They want it presented to them on a plate, without elections, without parliamentary struggle, and without anything at all. Arguments, logic, and facts—all of these are of no concern for them. We are saying: Let us hold a discussion and a debate and let us present our arguments—but they are demanding the president's resignation, are trying to push through their own candidate for president, and are trying to apply pressure in order to place him in this seat. The president, however, was elected by the people—87 percent of the population voted "for."

[Correspondent] Do Georgia and its government receive any international support in this complicated situation?

[Gamsakhurdia] Romania has recognized our independence and so have Armenia and Moldova. Latvia was to recognize [Georgian independence]. Mr. Gorbunovs promised me. The Baltic states are promising and Russia is promising. We turned to the United States for support and are now waiting.

[Correspondent] The opposition explicitly demands your resignation. Do you, Mr. president, consider such a possibility?

[Gamsakhurdia] If the whole nation demands this, I will readily resign. If my electors take back their votes, I am ready to resign. The people, however, do not think this way. The question of the presidency must be decided by the people and it will not be resolved by either Sigua, or Khoshtariya, or others. This demand is yet another manifestation of the opposition's ignorance. How can anyone demand the resignation of a president that has been elected by the people?! This must only be decided by the people....

Gamsakhurdia 15 Sep Political Address Reported

AU0110105091 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 17 Sep 91 p 1

["Speech Delivered by Batoni (Georgian polite form of address) Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, at the session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council (15 September)" in Tbilisi]

[Text] We recognize you as the parliamentary opposition; we do not recognize any other opposition and, furthermore, there is no other opposition. I think that you will agree with me on this point. The essence of democracy, as you know better than I, lies in the supremacy of the government that has been elected by the people and, at the same time, in the supremacy of laws that have been elaborated with the approval of the same people. I believe that there cannot be any other understanding of democracy. We, today, have the status of supreme government and although there might be people who dislike this government they nevertheless cannot ignore what this government says and the supremacy of those laws that it ratifies. Yes, batonebo, these laws often come into existence following a struggle between sides and constructive proposals from the opposition, the so-called opposition. However, surely a parliamentary decision is one in which the principle of the majority vote is victorious? Why does protest have to be expressed through hunger strikes and other destructive actions? This I do not understand. Is there really something dictatorial in this? Let's take today's decisions. Has the president imposed them upon parliament and has there been complicity in parliament itself? I believe not, friends. Therefore, I now urge that we find a common language among ourselves. A friendship that has existed for many years binds me to many of you and despite the fact that we are now on opposing sides—incidentally, this grieves and troubles me a lot—let us recall everything good that we have had in common and the fact that we struggled for so long for the well-being of Georgia. Let us recall those most difficult times that we have gone through together. We stood shoulder to shoulder during the period of the national movement. Let us now find a common language. I am urging you to do this not because some kind of danger is, so to speak, threatening me or my post. I think that you will agree with me that Georgia is facing the greatest danger. Believe me, if we together with the opposition do not resolve the political problems soon, possibly in the forthcoming hours, this will have catastrophic results and, what is most important, a third force is already claiming priority in the resolution of these problems. A third force is already shamelessly declaring that it will resolve these problems. Don't you agree with me? I believe that yesterday's speech by Batoni Nodar [Natadze—leader of the Popular Front and the parliamentary opposition faction Democratic Center] and his statement here confirm this. A third force is preparing to resolve for us and for you Georgia's problems and how it can do this is well known to everyone. Let us condemn that irresponsible action on the part of those youths. Let us call them [the 39 deputies who had earlier left the hall in protest against the fact that the session was not going to be transmitted live on TV] back to parliament and let us make a collective statement; let it even reflect the disagreement that exists between us and the opposition. Let us sit down together and continue to ponder over these problems. Otherwise, batonebo, I, as president, will disclaim all responsibility for what might happen and the overwhelming majority of parliament will no doubt likewise do the same. Responsibility will rest with you. I apologize for having spoken so categorically but I believe that the seriousness of the situation compels me to do so. I ask you to show restraint and not leave the parliament. Let us resolve what we have to say, including everything, in a constitutional way. I urge you to resolve all problems through dialogue.

SPEECH AT THE EVENING SESSION ON 15 SEPTEMBER

Dear friends, I have been listening for some time now to evaluations of that sorrowful event that occurred on 2 September and one thing surprises me. No one has explained or suggested against whom all this was directed and who has suffered the most as a result of this sorrowful incident. It is the republic's president who has suffered the most. I think it is not difficult to guess that this was directed, in the first place, against the president and our government, and, of course, against the whole of parliament as we are indivisible. Ignorance of this fact is giving rise to thousands of versions being spread. Let us begin with fundamental truths. Just imagine, friends, on the day that a delegation of American congressmen arrives in Tbilisi, on the day that I am to meet and talk with them, shooting is heard on Rustaveli Prospect. I ask myself: What was the aim of those who carried out and organized this? I believe it is absolutely obvious, friends. Many foreign countries were preparing to recognize our country and the arrival of the delegation was linked precisely to this and this had to be thwarted. Is this so really difficult to understand, friends? Moreover, they achieved their aim. Can you really not see that all this had just one aim? I am not saying that this originated only from the demonstrators and from those provocateurs who organized the excesses there. No, friends. I must speak the bitter truth. There are hidden forces in the militia who are hostilely disposed toward us. This is obvious. The minister, unfortunately, agrees with me on this point. Friends, what point is there in concealing that the entire tragedy of our government's existence lies in the fact that when we came to power we inherited the same militia and everything else from the previous governmental apparatus. This is the truth, friends. The militia has undergone a considerable evolution especially following 9 April [1989—when a peaceful pro-independence demonstration was brutally dispersed by Soviet troops resulting in some 20 civilian deaths]. It is no secret that, since the parliamentary elections, the majority [of the militia] have been on our side. However, is it not clear to everyone that there are hostile forces operating in it and that they are being well controlled by the empire's center? All those of us who are aware of what the situation is here know this well. When people forget this, their assessment of this event [2 September] is inaccurate and is followed by accusations leveled against the Government. Could the Government have started shooting at itself? This shooting was directed against us, friends, in order to undermine our prestige. Is this so difficult to fathom?

I, for example, on that day, was given very biased information and, to tell the truth, I personally am not pleased with that speech as I did not have the full information at my disposal. I was not able to give a proper assessment at the time but I now see, friends, what happened after that analysis. I am also in possession of facts that I cannot impart to you as yet; they will become known to you in time and it will become clear that this was a deliberate provocation directed against us by both the militia and the demonstrators and that they were being controlled by one center and that there was one author behind all this. This is my view, friends. You can clearly see what consequences this is having. Those "gentlemen," those representatives of the so-called opposition who are appearing on TV and making provocative statements, claiming that the authorities fired at their own people and that they carried this out, are bringing grist to the mill of those who organized all this. This is where the truth lies, friends. I will carry out a special investigation. We must not blow things out of proportion. Shots were not fired at the people. This is the truth. However the fact that shots were fired into the air is a crime. Therefore, friends, I will categorically insist that they be punished: Firing at a rally, even if it is directed into the air, is already a crime and is a guarantee that blood will be spilled because we know that a ricochet can occur off the walls of buildings in town. Moreover, all those who received bullet wounds did so as a result of ricochets. I think that Batoni Vakhtang [Razmadze—Georgian Prosecutor-General] will agree with me on this point. This is already evident from the investigation and from the evidence of those persons who were wounded that day. Not one of them says that he saw bullets being fired at the people. We should remember this well. However, firing into the air constituted, of course, the greatest crime and we must take all measures to punish the criminals. This is our duty. However, at the same time, let us give an accurate appraisal of these events and expose the forces within our militia that contrived all this for us. This, friends, is my view. As regards the fact that Georgia's image has been considerably damaged and that the president is to blame for everything that happened, one musn't forget about the size and strength of the empire's disinformation machine that is struggling against the president and against Georgia. It's as if these "gentlemen" are forgetting this, deliberately so. This disinformation machine has taken full advantage of the present provocation instigated by the center. However, this is not the main point. In the Western press and Western society, this incident is evaluated in different ways and, among the sound evaluations that have been made, it is clearly stated that this was possibly an act of provocation directed against the president. Therefore, friends, if this commission is set up, and, of course, it will be set up, its main aim should be to establish by what mechanism this incident was provoked against me and why such a dreadful step was taken. Of course, we need to bring in competent people but we musn't have people who will muddy the waters. There are many here who muddy the waters. You can see that the main trend is that this will be used against us [as published] and I do not want the so-called opposition to become a blind weapon in the hands of the enemy that has been so active recently. The situation today in Georgia, friends, reminds me very much of that of 1918-21. Then as well, Georgian traitors sheltering in Moscow were controlling everything. They were creating their own support groups with the apparent aim of staging an uprising, a revolution, a rebellion. They were organizing similar provocations here and, in this way, laid the foundation for the

introduction of the Army and the annexation of Georgia. Our treacherous compatriots who have found shelter in Moscow are preparing a second annexation and we should be aware of this. We should warn the opposition against being manipulated by them like dolls and puppets. This is what I wanted to say, friends. No one is opposed to democracy but whoever disagrees with the view that democracy is precisely the supremacy of laws, the supremacy of laws that have been approved by the people and the supremacy of the Government that has been elected by the people, that person is already confusing democracy with anarchy. Democracy, friends, is expressed neither by scattering garbage on the central avenue nor by hooliganism, neither by smashing things nor by slander. Thank you.

South Ossetian State of Emergency Extended

LD0110165491 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 01 Oct 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz October 1 TASS—Last night, shooting from machine-guns, grenade-launchers and missiles occurred in the suburbs of Tskhinvali in South Ossetia. Eight city residents were seriously wounded. Considerable damage was inflicted to residential houses and various facilities.

A state of emergency in the city was extended for another month.

A spokesman for the regional information committee said Georgian formations have been concentrating near Znauri Highway and in the suburbs of Tskhinvali. They blocked the main roads leading to the regional centre, hampering the delivery of humanitarian aid from North Ossetia. The city lacks food, medicines and fuel.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Hits Calls To Sever Moscow Ties

PM0210091391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Khanbabyan: "For a Community of Peoples"]

[Text] Yerevan—L. Ter-Petrosyan's speech at an Armenian Supreme Soviet sitting had a large impact in the republic. The parliament head noted that the results of the independence referendum have recently been the object of speculation on the part of certain organizations and individuals calling for the severance of all relations with Moscow.

These appeals are not only shortsighted, Ter-Petrosyan said, but entirely irresponsible. After all, we are dealing with a single historical, political, and spiritual organism. We cannot now have a mass dispersal along ethnic lines. The Armenian people have made an unequivocal choice in favor of independence, but this certainly does not mean that the old unitary structures cannot be gradually transformed into a democratic, equal community of peoples. And an independent Armenia must participate in every way in the current positive sociopolitical processes and in all interrepublic structures, striving for the country's real renewal, not its painful breakup. It must be clearly appreciated that a new community and multifaceted cooperation with all the republics represent the real guarantees of national security and economic revival for the Armenian people.

Ter-Petrosyan expressed confidence that people will correctly evaluate this position and on presidential election day will support the proposed political course.

Ter-Petrosyan Meets With Catholic Leaders

NC0110154191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] On 30 September, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, received Vazgen I, the catholicos of all the Armenians; Garegin II, the catholicos of the house of Cilicia; and the high ranking spiritual leaders accompanying them.

Catholicos Vazgen I thanked Ter-Petrosyan in the name of the diocesan prelates for receiving them and for participating in the ceremony of the consecration of the holy oil the previous day at Echmiadzin. Vazgen I congratulated the Armenian people and the republic's leadership on the proclamation of Armenia's independence.

Archbishop Torgom Manukyan, the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem; Archbishop Garegin Kazanchyan, the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople; among others, expressed their satisfaction that the Armenian people's sacred aspiration had been realized with the proclamation of independent statehood. They expressed their support for the fatherland's leadership.

In his reply, Ter-Petrosyan once again noted the unity between the Armenian people and the Armenian church and stressed the important role the Armenian church plays in the attainment of national goals.

Armenia's official delegation, which is being lead by Ter-Petrosyan, left for Alma-Ata after being blessed by the Armenian catholicos and the other church fathers at the end of the meeting.

Ter-Petrosyan: Zheleznovodsk Accord Not Implemented

NC0110203391 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Alma-Ata—Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ter-Petrosyan has granted an interview to a Russian news agency reporter, in which he said that the joint communique signed in Zheleznovodsk a few days ago unfortunately has not been implemented. Ter-Petrosyan is taking part in a meeting of the leaders of the (?13)

sovereign republics in Alma Ata. According to Ter-Petrosyan, the commission called for by the communique, which is to be made up of representatives from Russia and Kazakhstan, has not arrived at its destination. Ter-Petrosyan noted that it had been hoped that the commission would start working in Stepanakert on 1 October, but the situation there has worsened.

Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov shares the same view. He gave a statement to a Russian news agency reporter, saying: We are waiting for the Russian and Kazakh observers, and the sooner they come, the sooner the stabilization process can start.

Meanwhile, the situation is getting more complicated.

Interior Ministry: Azerbaijan Violating Agreements

OW0110125591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1040 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia accuses Azerbaijan of violating agreements on starting negotiations to gradually resolve the problem of Nagorny Karabakh and of seeking to nullify the results of the mediatory mission launched by the Presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan. This is announced in a statement published in Yerevan by Armenia's interior ministry. According to the statement, between September 22 and 30 the Azerbaijanis stepped up combat operations in Nagorny Karabakh and in the adjoining Geranboi (formerly Shaumian) region of Azerbaijan.

Besides, Armenia's interior ministry expressed concern over the fact that, despite the assurances of the USSR defence and interior ministries that their units will refrain from taking part in ethnic conflicts, there are facts showing that units belonging to these ministries repeatedly violated the instructions of their ministries. Armenia's interior ministry declared strong protest to the USSR defence and interior ministries in connection with the continued use of armed forces in actions against ethnic Armenians in Nagorny Karabakh and Geranboi (Shaunian) region.

Internal Affairs Ministry Views Troops' Behavior

NC0110215091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 1 Oct 91

["Statement Issued by the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry;" place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The Azerbaijani side's military operations have sharply intensified in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the adjacent Shaumyanovskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan between 22 and 30 September.

In view of the statement Azerbaijani President Mutalibov made at Zheleznovodsk on 23 September to the effect that the Azerbaijani authorities have full control over all the armed organizations in Azerbaijan, such operations can only be considered a rejection by Azerbaijan of the negotiations and the agreements on the phased solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and an attempt to undermine the results of the Russian and Kazakhstan presidents' mediation mission.

It is particularly worrying that, despite the assurances of the highest leadership of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the USSR Defense Ministry that their subunits would not take part in the inter ethnic conflict and would act as [word indistinct] observers, numerous cases have been registered that confirm unauthorized violations of these arrangements by the internal troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the subunits of the Defense Ministry.

In effect a [words indistinct] of the signed communique is taking place. (?This) is being done by the internal troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the subunits of the Soviet Army stationed in the areas bordering Nagorno-Karabakh and Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. The nature of the subunits' operations, the cases of transferring the [word indistinct] and military equipment to the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment, the concealment or actual abetting of the Special Detachment operations confirm that the commanders of these subunits, in following their own (?strategic) goals, are acting contrary to the orders given by the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry and the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry. [words indistinct]

The Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry conveys its resolute protest to the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the USSR Defense Ministry over the continued use of the armed forces in acts against the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh and Shaumyanovskiy. This is also being done because the commanders of the 23d Division and of certain USSR Internal Affairs Ministry internal troop units have not been interrogated or punished. These commanders committed crimes against the peaceful population in the above mentioned regions during the forcible deportation of the Armenian population which took place from April to August 1991.

Azerbaijan

Cease-Fire Observers Delayed; Tensions Rise

LD0110190291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1436 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Telephone report by correspondent Islam Kuliyev in Baku]

[Excerpts] People in Azerbaijan have been waiting for today with impatience. The implementation of the accord reached in Zheleznovodsk should have started today. In particular, a group of observers from the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan were expected to start to carry out their functions. They were to monitor the cease-fire and other measures aimed at stabilizing the

situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. The day is almost over, but we have not yet received any news of the arrival of the observers.

Meanwhile, combat operations in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, near the border with Armenia and Nakhichevan, have increased. Here is news in brief from there. Yesterday, we received a report from (?Khodzhaly), which is very close to Stepanakert and which is populated by Azerbaijanis, saying that the local population had been under attack by Armenian guerrillas throughout the day. A woman was wounded and several houses were destroyed.

A couple of hours ago we received another report from that area. The road from Khodzhaly to Agdam is blockaded by the Armenian side. They have piled up stones and gravel, so traffic cannot move. There is also a food shortage in the town. [passage omitted]

There is also a blockade of information. Armenian guerrillas have destroyed the television and radio relay station in (?Ordubadskiy) Rayon of the Nakhichevan Republic. At present, there are no all-Union television and radio programs broadcast here . Only television news from Baku is available here and only at certain times. [passage omitted]

In these circumstances it was decided to set up a committee for the national defense of the Nakhichevan Republic. It will defend the people of the region, supported by voluntary donations from local residents.

The Azerbaijan Cabinet of Ministers has decided to set up a special self-defense fund separate from the budget. This will also be supported by contributions from enterprises, institutions , cooperatives and the people. [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh Clashes, Political Developments

Cease-Fire Near Stepanakert 30 Sep

LD0110141591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1923 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 30 Sep (TASS)—A cease-fire accord was reached today in Kirkidzhan, a suburb of Stepanakert where Armenians and Azerbaijanis live side-by-side.

The cease-fire took effect at midday today after a meeting between leaders of the Armenian and Azerbaijani communities of Kirkidzhan, in which senior officers of the commandant's office for the area covered by the state of emergency played a mediating role. Talks on withdrawing all armed groups except internal troop units from the territory of the settlement will be continued tomorrow.

Armenian Village Attacked

NC0110215691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] An ARMENPRES correspondent has reported from Shaumyanovskiy that the Armenian-inhabited village of Karachinar came under massive artillery bombardment this morning. The village was shelled by [word indistinct] Alazan missiles. It also has been reported that armored cars were used. The village defenders could hardly (?hold their positions) against the superior numbers of the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment.

Shaumyanovskiy Official Cables Republic Leaders

NC0110195291 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Megryan, the chairman of the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon soviet's executive committee, has cabled Russian President Yeltsin, Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev and to Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ter-Petrosyan, indicating that the situation in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon has been sharply aggravated since the signing of the Zheleznovodsk communique.

He pointed out that Karachinar, [name indistinct], Buzluk, Erkech and Manashid villages are coming under frequent artillery fire, causing several victims and much destruction. On the night of 29-30 September alone, 250 [name indistinct] type grenades were fired on Karachinar village. He said in the cables: Our only choice is to lay our hopes with God and our determination.

The outskirts of Stepanakert again came under fire on the night of 30 September, and three seriously injured people were taken to the hospital.

Violating the Zheleznovodsk communique, units from the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's internal troops that were deployed in Agdam used armored cars to raid (?Hintaglar) village in Mardakertskiy Rayon on 29 September, without giving any prior notice to the state of emergency region's military commander. Under the pretext of conducting the infamous passport control, they committed acts of banditry and took several hostages. It is becoming clear that the ring operation authored by Pugo and Gromov is still very much alive, as they have detained a deputy from the Moscow City Soviet.

(Andrey Plarnikov), correspondent for [name indistinct] EXPRESS paper, reported the following for ARMENPRES from Shaumyanovskiy rayon: Moscow City Soviet deputy (Valentina Nunkova) [words indistinct] was detained at 1015 today, 30 September, by the Azerbaijanis while she was trying to help people who were returning to various parts of the Soviet Union after attending their relatives' burial services in Rus Boris village. She intended to return to Shaumyanov, but the Azerbaijani side refused to let her go. Her fate is unknown.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Opens Economic Meeting in Alma-Ata

Discuss Economic Agreement

LD0110125891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Top leaders of the former union republics, along with Ivan Silayev and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy as representatives of the center, are meeting today in Alma-Ata. They are discussing problems related to concluding an interrepublican economic agreement.

INTERFAX reports that those participating include: Azeri President Ayaz Mutalibov; Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan; Vasiliy Shalodonov, Belarusan Supreme Soviet deputy chairman and Vyacheslav Kebich, the republic's prime minister; Igor Chkheidze, member of the presidential council and minister of material resources of Georgia; Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet Chairman Medetkan Sherimkulov; Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis; Moldovan President Mircha Snegur; Yevgeniy Saburov, RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and economics minister; Rakhman Nabiyev, acting Tajik president and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet; Turkmen Supreme Soviet Chairman Sakhat Muradov; Vladimir Grinev, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputy chairman and Vitold Fokin, the republic's prime minister; Uzbek President Islam Karimov; and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

The Kazakh president opened the meeting by referring to the latest version of an economic treaty between the republics, saying that adjustments may be made to the document as the position of each of the republics become clearer. Nazarbayev also suggested that there should be discussion of conditions for normal operation of the national economy during the coming winter. He noted that the grave situation in the country now calls for coordinated action from us, to be directed first at solving pressing issues, such as food supplies, production of consumer goods, and the stable operation of enterprises in winter conditions. In Nazarbayev's words, the ruinous process of total break-up can be halted if the interests of the peoples rather than political passions are put first, and sensible use is made of the great variety of economic links built up over years and decades.

INTERFAX correspondent Yevgeniy Terekhov reports that the meeting is scheduled to end at 1900 [1700 GMT], after which a news conference will be held on its outcome.

All meeting participants on 2 October will fly to the Baykonyr space center to attend the launch of a Soviet-Kazakh-Austrian crew.

Understanding Reached

LD0210015991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has announced that 10 of the 13 leaders of republics present in Alma-Ata have agreed to initial a treaty on an economic community in the very near future. Addressing a news conference on the results of the economic meeting of delegations from these republics, Nazarbayev said that the document will be initialled by the heads of governments in the very near future.

A united communique was signed during the meeting. It discusses economic problems, human rights, and interethnic relations.

An understanding was reached at the meeting that eight republics will sign a treaty on an economic community on a multilateral basis among themselves no later than 15 October. Nazarbayev noted that the venue for the signing is not of fundamental importance.

Answering a question about why Mikhail Gorbachev was not present at the meeting, the president of Kazakhstan replied: We did not invite Gorbachev to Alma-Ata. We have invited him to visit the Baykonyr cosmodrome on 2 October. The delegations of the sovereign states will leave by air for the cosmodrome early in the morning at 0400 Moscow time. The liftoff of the spacecraft carrying an international crew, including a citizen of Kazakhstan, is planned to take place there.

Details on Cooperation Agreements With Turkey

LD0110101391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev has paid his second visit to Baku in the past few days. He held a short meeting there with Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov yesterday evening on his way back to Alma-Ata from Turkey. Our correspondent in Baku had nothing to tell us about the content of the two presidents' conversation. He did, however, have some details about the outcome of Nazarbayev's visit to Turkey:

[Correspondent Azer Khalilov] In an interview with Azerbaijani television President Nazarbayev expressed satisfaction with his visit to Turkey. He said that his meeting there had been held at the very highest level, and its outcome had surpassed all expectations. Nursultan Nazarbayev said that in Turkey mention had been made of economic relations with Azerbaijan which are also developing favorably. During the Kazakhstan leader's visit three important documents were signed with President Turgut Ozal. These included a treaty inaugurating air links between Istanbul, Baku, and Alma-Ata. In addition an agreement was signed to establish television and telephone links this year between Kazakhstan and Turkey.

It was also reported by Azerbaijani television that an economic council embracing Turkey and Kazakhstan has been formed, based in Istanbul, to coordinate cultural and economic links and to implement treaties which have been concluded. Nursultan Nazarbayev also announced that following a meeting with representatives of business circles 10 contracts totalling $25 million have been concluded. A joint bank has been set up. It is also proposed to make use of transportation links across the Caspian between Azerbaijan, Iran, and Turkey.

Nursultan Nazarbayev said that cooperation between Kazakhstan and Turkey is also important because there are some 40,000 Kazakhs living there, among them businessmen who could play a positive part in the regeneration of Kazakhstan.

Official Armenian Delegation Arrives in Alma-Ata

LD0110141391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Reports from Azerbaijan indicate that the hope that peace would come to Nagorno-Karabakh with the signing of the Zheleznovodsk joint communique has not been justified. The bloodshed continues. However, at the invitation of President Nazarbayev, an official Armenian delegation headed by Levon Ter- Petrosyan arrived in Alma-Ata. Talks will take place about the further development of bilateral cooperation between the two republics.

Tajikistan

Situation 'Worsened'; Hunger Strike Continues

LD0110160291 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 1 Oct 91

["Confrontation Gaining Force in Tajikistan" by TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe October 1 TASS—The Tajikistan parliament today failed to decide on the fate of the Tajikistan Communist Party and its successor and adjourned its session.

A draft resolution on suspending the Communist Party's activities, proposed by the parliament's committee for legislation, was returned to the committee for elaboration. (Some 94 percent of parliament members are communists.)

The social and political situation in the republic has seriously worsened. Numerous rallies are being held in cities and district centres in the republic, supporting both communists and the opposition.

A deputy from Leninabad region said he had received a telegram to the effect that work collectives of several industrial enterprises in the regional centre of Hudzhand on Monday [30 September] staged a preventive strike, protesting against the rally organised by the opposition. Today, they called for a general strike in the region.

Authors of the telegram demanded that all deputies from Leninabad region leave the parliament session and return home. Otherwise, they threatened to strip them of their powers as deputies.

A total of 129 people, including nine women, have continued a hunger strike in Ozodi Square. According to doctors taking care of the strikers, ten of them are in a serious condition. The state of health of prominent Tajik poetess Gulrukhsor Safiyeva, also a USSR people's deputy, who joined the hunger strike on September 27, causes particular anxiety.

Turkmenia

Referendum on Independence To Be Held 26 Oct

LD0110022891 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Ashkhabad September 30 TASS—A referendum on independence of Turkmenia will be held on October 26. A decision to this effect was taken today at an extraordinary session of the Turkmenian Supreme Soviet.

Deputies unanimously approved the statement of Turkmenian President Niyazov and the republican Supreme Soviet on aspects of the Turkmenian external and internal policy.

The session also examined the delegating of republican representatives to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Uzbekistan

Extraordinary Supreme Soviet Session Convened

Law on Presidential Elections

LD2809183991 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] The Republic of Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Presidium recently held a session. Questions related to the convening of the extraordinary seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Uzbekistan, to be held 30 September 1991, was reviewed. The presidium deliberated questions related to the Republic of Uzbekistan candidates to the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who will be put forward for consideration by the highest state organ. The presidium also agreed to submit a number of new draft laws to the Supreme Soviet of the republic for approval, concerning strengthening of the republic, including giving the [word indistinct] state independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan (? constitutional status).The members of the presidium unanimously decided to adopt the law on presidential elections of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and approved the

proposed draft (?law).[Passage indistinct]. Karimov, president of the Republic of Uzbekistan, spoke at the session.

Deputies Demand Karimov Resignation

OW3009140191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1010 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At its Monday's [30 September] session the Uzbek parliament will discuss the ways to strengthen economic sovereignty, presidential elections in the republic, recognition of the Baltic countries' independence and a list of Uzbekistan's candidates for the Supreme Soviet.

A poll conducted by the press center of the popular movement "Birlik" has shown that deputies are dissatisfied with the current procedure of endorsing candidacies for the Supreme Soviet. According to Viktor Tarannik, deputy from Samarkand, "no one discussed lists of candidates for the Supreme Soviet, such lists were not published, and therefore deputies will have to vote in the best traditions of stagnation".

Birlik's press service describes the draft bill on presidential elections in Uzbekistan as "one-sided and undemocratic". It was drafted so as to enable only one man, namely Islam Karimov, to take part in the race for the presidency in Uzbekistan, Birlik stressed in its appeal to the deputies. In the 20 days allotted by the draft bill for nominating candidates no one but I. Karimov will be able to collect the required 100,000 signatures.

Birlik asked the deputies to support its proposal to extend the time for nominating presidential candidates to 2 months, confine the number of voters backing each candidate to 10,000 and hold elections only on alternative basis and under international supervision.

According to Birlik, some 100 members of the Uzbek parliament signed a call for the immediate resignation of the current Uzbek president, I. Karimov. They are expected to support at the session Birlik's cochairman Abdurakhim Pulatov as an alternative candidate for presidential elections.

Resolutions Adopted

LD0110153391 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] The seventh extraordinary session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet was held in Tashkent on 30 September. Supreme Soviet Chairman Yuldoshev opened the session. The deputies, with respect, observed a minute of silence in memory of People's Deputy Makhmuddov. This was followed by the election of the session's working bodies. The deputies approved the agenda. The Supreme Soviet approved USSR peoples deputies candidates and people's deputies candidates of the Republic of Uzbekistan—selected from the Republic of Uzbekistan to the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Republics—and formed its candidates to the [words indistinct]. The Supreme Soviet adopted a law establishing the independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan on a constitutional basis. The appointment of (Mulladzhonov) as chairman of the Republic of Uzbekistan State Bank was approved. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Uzbekistan recognized the independence of the republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and adopted an address to the Supreme Soviets of all these republics. It also adopted a law on amendments to the constitution, the basis of law of the Republic of the Uzbekistan. The deputies accepted a decree on the address of the 23d extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of the Republic of Uzbekistan to the Supreme Soviet of the republic. The Supreme Soviet approved the decrees of the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and ratified the declaration of human rights and freedoms adopted at the Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The session listened to the report by (Mingboyev), chairman of the high court of the Republic of Uzbekistan, on the case of Ruzumurodov's [word indistinct] complaint. (Salokhidinov), chairman of the constitutional commission of the Republic of Uzbekistan and head of the group of specialists, reported on the preparation of the republican state symbols. The Supreme Soviet approved the new flag of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The session examined the questions on our compatriots residing in foreign countries and preparing the conditions for their wide participation in the life of the republic. The committee for people's education, science, and culture was instructed to prepare the document for the next scheduled session.

Uzbekistan Republic President Karimov spoke at the session. With this, the seventh extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic finished its work.

Agreement With Turkey To Set Up Joint Ventures

OW3009143691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1010 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reports from Tashkent, an agreement was reached there on establishing air communication between Uzbekistan and Turkey. It was negotiated at a meeting between Uzbekistan's Vice-President Shukurulla Mirsaidov and a delegation of Turkish commercial and industrial circles.

The two sides also agreed on setting up joint ventures and expressed the desire to make Tashkent and Istanbul sister cities. There are plans to open in Istanbul an Uzbek cultural and information center.

President, Malaysian Leader on Bilateral Ties

OW3009183591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 30 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan has essential raw materials, natural and other resources at its disposal for developing ties with foreign states. This is what Islam Karimov, the President of Uzbekistan, told the Malaysian Defense Minister, Mohamed Najib Abdul Razak, during their meeting on the 29th of October in Tashkent. Razak is on an official visit to the Soviet Union and at present is visiting Uzbekistan.

As I. Karimov noted, Uzbekistan is in favor of a single economic region in the USSR and the preservation of a single army. He also emphasized that the republic is interested in signing an economic agreement very soon.

In Tashkent the Malaysian Defense Minister held talks with the command of the Turkestan military district and with the Uzbekistan Defense Minister. M. Razak visited the spiritual center of Central Asian muslims and made a trip to Samarkand.